

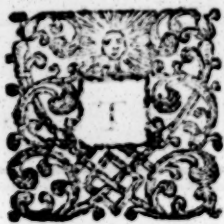
## CANT IUM.

**I** AM now come to *Kent*; a Country, which *William Lambard*, a person eminent for learning and piety, has describ'd so much to the life in a complete volume, and who has wish'd been so happy in his searches; that he has left very little for those that come after him. Yet in pursuance of my intended method, I will survey this among the rest; and lest (as the *Comedian* says) any one should suspect me of *Plagiarism*, or *Insincerity*, I here gratefully acknowledge, that his Work is my *Foundation*.

Time has not yet depriv'd this Country of it's ancient name; but as *Cæsar*, *Strabo*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Ptolemy*, and others, call it *Cantium*; so the *Saxons* (as *Ninthus* tells us) nam'd it *Cant-gar-land*, i.e. the country of the inhabiting *Kent*; and we now, *Kent*. *Lambard* derives this name *Cane*, signifying in British a green leaf, because it was formerly much covered with woods. But for my part (if I may be allow'd the liberty of a conjecture,) when I observe that, here, Britain shoots out into a large corner eastward, and do further take notice, that such a corner in Scotland is call'd *Cantir*, that the inhabitants also of another corner in that part of the island are by *Ptolemy* call'd *Canutie*, and that the *Cangani* were possessors of another corner in that *Wales*, (not to mention the *Cantabari*, inhabiting a corner among the *Celtiberians*, who as they had the same original so did they speak the same language with our Britains;) upon these grounds, I should guess it to have had that name from the situation. And the reason,

ther, because our French have us'd *Canton* for a *corner*, borrowing it, probably, from the ancient language of the Gauls, (for it is neither from the German nor Latin; which two, together with that ancient one, are the only ingredients of our modern French;) as also because this County is call'd *Angulus*, or a corner, by all the old Geographers. For it faces France with a large *corner*, surrounded on every side by the Estuary of the Thames and the ocean, except to the west, where it borders upon Surrey; and upon part of Sussex, to the south. Whether the *Kanctai* of Herodotus, are the *Cantii* of and our Kentish-men, as some have thought, I shall not take upon me to determine.

## K E N T.



HIS Country, which we now call *Kent*, is not altogether uniform: to the west it is more plain, and shaded with woods; but to the east, rises with hills of an easie ascent. The Inhabitants, according to it's situation, from the Thames southward, distinguish it into three *plots* or *portions* (they call them *Degrees*;) the *upper*, lying upon the Thames, they look upon to be healthy, but not altogether so rich; the *middle*, to be both healthy and rich; the *lower*, to be rich, but withal unhealthy, because of the wet marshy soil in most parts of it: it is, however, very fruitful in grass. As for good meadows, pastures, and corn-fields, it has these in most places, and abounds with apples beyond measure; as also with *cherries*, which were brought out of *Pontus* into Italy, 680 years after the building of Rome, and 120 years afterwards, into Britain. They thrive exceeding well in those parts, and take up great quantities of ground, making a very pleasant show by reason they are planted square, and stand one against another, which way soever you look. It is very thick-set with villages and towns, and has pretty safe harbours, with some veins of iron: but the air is a little thick and foggy, because of the vapours rising out of the waters. The inhabitants at this day may justly claim that commendation for *humanity*, which Caesar bestowed upon those in his time; not to mention their bravery in war, which a certain monk has observ'd to be so very eminent in the Kentish-men, that in their engagements among the rest of the English, the front of the battle was look'd upon to belong properly to them, as to so many *Triarii*, who, among the Romans, were always the strongest men, and, upon

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upon whom the stress of the battle lay. This is confirm'd by John of Salisbury in his Polycraticon. *As a reward (says he) of that signal courage which our Kent, with great might and readiness, shew'd against the Danes, they do this day lay claim to the honour of the first Ranks, and the first Charge in all Engagements.* And Malmsbury too has written thus in their praise. *The country people and the citizens in Kent, retain the spirit of that ancient nobility, above the rest of the English; being more ready to afford respect and kind entertainment to others, and less inclinable to revenge injuries.*

Cæsar (to speak something by way of Preface, before I come to the places themselves) in his first attempt upon our island, arriv'd on this coast; and the Kentish Britains opposing his landing, there was a hot dispute, before he retir'd to shore. In his second Expedition also, he landed his army here; and the Britains, with their horse and their chariots, receiv'd him warmly at the river *Stour*; but being quickly repuk'd by the Romans, they retir'd into the woods. Afterwards, they had some hot skirmishes with the Roman army in their march; but still the Romans were upon all accounts too strong for them. Some time after, they attack'd the Romans again, broke through the midst of them, and, having *Lateranus Datus* a tribune, made a complete retreat, and next day surpris'd the foragers, &c. all which I have before mentioned out of Cæsar. At this time, *Cyngetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Sevanax*, were governors of Kent, whom he the Cæsar calls Kings, because he would have thought to have conquer'd kings; whereas they were really no more than Lords of the Country, or noblemen of the better sort. After the Roman government was establish'd here, Kent was under the governour of *Britannia Prima*. But the sea-coast, which they term'd *Litus Saxonicum*, or the Saxon shore, had (like the opposite shore, from the Rhine to *Xantique*) a peculiar name from the time of Dioclesian, call'd by Marcellinus, *Coast of the Saxon-shore*, and by the *Notitia*, *The honourable, the Coast of the Saxon-shore*; whose particular business it was, to fix garisons upon the coast in places convenient, to prevent the plunders of the Barbarians, especially the Saxons, who heavily infected Britain, (to which end, he had sent in two thousand two hundred foot and horse.) He was under the command of *Helisfridus the Master of the foot*, whom they call'd *Præfentabls*, (from constant Presence in the army,) and who, besides the particular garisons upon the coast, did put under him the *Victores Juniores Britannici*, the *Primarii Juniores*, and the *Secundarii Juniores* (these are the names of 18 many companies,) to be in readiness upon all occasions. His Office or Count was in this manner; *Princeps ex officio Magistri præsentium a parte* *magistratus duos, commentariensem, cornicularium, adiutorem, subadiutorem, legendarium, exceptores singulares, &c. i. e.* A Principal or Master

out of the Masters or Generals relating to the foot, two Accountants, (one for the emperor's Gifts, another of his Privy purse,) a judge-advocate (who wrote and published the sentences of the prætor, and was call'd *Corructularius*, from a Horn, by the winding of which he commanded silence in the Court, (an assistant to officiate in case of the absence or infirmity of the proper officer,) an Under-assistant, a Register, the singular Receivers, such as kept the Accounts of the army, belonging to the prætor's office; from which the Singulares seem to be different, and to have particular and singular Employments, as Informers, &c. To which, *Ulpian* adds, & *reliquos Officiales*, i. e. all the Under-officers, &c. And no doubt, but it was imitation of this method of the Romans, that our king set over this coast a governour or portreeve, commonly call'd *Baron* of Cinque-ports, because as the Count of the Saxon-shore præfaced every day, does he over *five* ports.

But after the Romans had quitted Britain, Vortigern who had the Government of the greatest part of it, set over Kent a Guring, i. e. a Viceroy or free-man; without whose knowledge, he frankly bestow'd this Country of Ninnius, and Malmsbury have it) upon Hengist the Saxon, on the account of his daughter Rowenna (as is generally said) with whom he was passionately in love. But the Saxon Chronicle (which says nothing of that Rowenna shews us, that Hengist rather got it by force of arms, having worsted Vortigern in two pitch'd battles: one, at Aylesford; and the other at Crayke where he kill'd four thousand Britains, and put the rest to flight.) This was the first kingdom of the Saxons settled in Britain, in the year of our Lord 456, call'd by them *Cantrara-ryc*, i. e. *the kingdom of the Kentish-men*; who after three hundred and twenty years, upon Baldred the last king being conquer'd, came under the jurisdiction of the West-Saxons, and continued till the Norman conquest: (although indeed Baldred's leaving that kingdom to his son Æthelstan, seems to imply that he was not so *entirely* conquer'd, to be the very last king of this country.)

At the Norman conquest (if we may believe Thomas Spot the most ancient writer saying any thing of it,) the Kentish-men, carrying before them, surrender'd themselves to William the Conqueror at Seneles (a small village, where they tell us that Suene the Dane had formerly camp'd,) upon condition, that they might have the customs of their Country preserv'd entire; *that* especially, which they call Gavel-kind. By which lands of that nature, are divided among the males by equal portions; in default of issue-male, among the females. By this, they enter upon the state at fifteen years of age, and have power to make it over to any person either by gift or sale, without consent of the Lord. By the same

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persons succeed to this sort of lands, though their parents be sentenced for theft, &c. So that what we find in an ancient book, is very true, tho' not elegantly written: *The County of Kent urges that that County ought of right to be exempt from any such burthen, because it affirms that their county was never conquer'd as was the rest of England, but surrender'd it self to the Conqueror's power upon articles of agreement, by which it was provided that they should enjoy all their liberties and free customs which they then had, and us'd.* The foregoing relation is oppos'd by Mr. Somner and others, and yet it must be confess'd to have some remains in their present Constitution. And whoever opposes it, will be oblig'd to find some other fair account, how they in particular come to retain that custom of Gavelkind, which once prevail'd all over Britain, as it does still in some part of Wales? and why the Heirs particularly in Kent, succeed to the inheritance, though their father suffer for felony or murder?

William the conqueror afterwards, to secure Kent, which is look'd upon to be the Key of England, set a Constable over Dover-castle; and constituted the same person (in imitation of the ancient Roman custom) governor of five ports, stiling him Warden of the Cinque-ports. Those are Hastings, Dover, Hith, Rumney and Sandwich; to which Winchelsey and Rie are added as Principals, and some other little towns as Members only. And because they are oblig'd to serve in the wars by sea, they enjoy many and large immunities: For instance, from payment of Subsidies, and from Wardship of their children as to body (while that continu'd a law in England;) as also not to be su'd in any courts but within their own town. And such of their inhabitants as have the name of Barons, do, at the coronation of the kings and queens of England, support the canopy, and for that day have their table spread and furnish'd upon the king's right hand, &c. And the lord warden himself, who is always some one of the nobility of approv'd loyalty, is within his jurisdiction, in several cases, the authority of Admiral, and other privileges. But now let us come to the places.

The Thames, the chief of all the British rivers, runs (as I observ'd just now) along the north part of this county; which, leaving Surrey, and a winding course almost returning to the chanel above, receives the river Ravensbourn. Upon this river, there yet remains a large fortification, and where it is enclos'd with treble rampiers and ditches of a vast height and breadth, near two miles in circuit; which must certainly have been the work of many hands, but of whose, is uncertain. Some would have it to be the camp which Caesar made, when the Britains gave him the last battle, with their united force, just before he pass'd the Thames in pursuit of Cassivelaun. It is not probable, either that Caesar had time to cast up such a work, or

or that he would not have mention'd a thing so considerable, in his Commentaries. Much more likely is it (if at all the work of the Romans) to have been done some time after, when they had reduc'd the Nation into a Province, and made them stations at certain distances for the better quartering of their Armies; and (to offer a conjecture) this possibly is what remains of the old Noviomagus, which seems to be hereabouts, betwixt London and Maidstone. It is indeed a little too far distant from London, and so likewise from Maidstone, the old Vagniacæ (the stations on each hand of it) being about twelve miles from London in a straight line, and twenty at least from Maidstone; whereas in the Itinerary it is but ten, and eighteen. But so also Woodcot in Surrey, where Noviomagus hath been placed; for tho' that be but ten miles from London, as the Itinerary sets it, it is at least thirty from Maidstone. And this opinion of it's being here, is favour'd both by Mr. Stowe, and our learned bishop Stillingfleet; who conclude from the course of the Itinerary, that it must necessarily be some where in Kent. But yet Dr. Gougeon in his late learned Comment on the Itinerary, continues it at Woodcot; upon that exact distance of ten miles from London.

Somewhat lower, near the same river lies Bromley, remarkable not only for the bishop of Rochester's palace, but for a College or Hospital erected there, in the reign of king Charles II, by Dr. John Warner, bishop of Rochester, for the maintenance of twenty poor Ministers widows, with the allowance of twenty pounds *per ann.* to each, and fifty to their chaplain; which is the first of this kind that was ever erected in England, and was the pattern whereby George Morley bishop of Winchester, and Sir Ward bishop of Salisbury, did both proceed, in the like endowment of their respective Sees. Near the place where Ravensbourn falls into the Thames it lies Deptford, a noted Dock, where the Royal Navy is built, and repaired: There is also settled a famous Store-house; and the whole area of the Yard, is now widened to more than double what it formerly was, with a wet dock, of two acres, for Ships, and another of an acre and a half for Masts; besides an enlargement of it's Store-houses, Dwelling-houses, Lodgings &c. suitable thereto, and to the greatness of the present Service. Here is a settled Corporation, something like a College, Holy Trinity-house, for the purposes of the Navy, as some have said; but more truly, for the use of the Seamen. For by a grant, 4 Henry VIII, made to the Ship-men and Mariners of this Realm, they were enabled to begin (to the honour of the Holy Trinity and St. Clement) a Guild or Brotherhood perpetual concerning the Craft or Cunning of Mariners, and for the increase and augmentation of the Ships thereof; which, as the body Corporate of the Seamen of England continues (and this the Seat of it,) under the stile of the Trinity-house of Deptford.

Deptford; Stroud but without the least share, either of Trust or Authority, in the Navy Royal.

It was formerly call'd West Greenwich, and upon the Conquest of England fell to the share of Gislebert de Mamgnot, a Norman baron; whose grandchild by a son, Walkelin by name, and Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports) defended Dover-castle against king Stephen; or (as Mr. Lambard reporteth) delivered it to him, and for that reason, after the king's death, abandon'd the charge and fled into Normandy. He left behind him one only sister, who, upon the death of her brother, brought by marriage a large estate, call'd the honour of Mamgnot, into the family of the SAYS; (from whom it receiv'd the name of Sayes-Court, which it still retains, tho' now enjoy'd by the ancient family of the Evelyns.)

From hence the Thames goes to Grenovicum, commonly Greenwich, i. e. the green creak (for the creak of a river is call'd in German *Wie*;) formerly noted for being the harbour of the Danish fleet, and for the cruelty that *that* people exercis'd upon Ealpheg archbishop of Canterbury (whom they put to death, by most exquisite torments, in the year 1012. His death, and the occasion of it, *Ditmarus Mersepurgius*, who liv'd about that time, has thus describ'd, in the eighth book of his Chronicle. 'By the relation of *Sewald*, I came to know a very tragical, and there are memorable act: How a teacher's company of (*Northmani*, signifying the Danes.) Northern-men, whole captain *Thurkil* now is, seiz'd upon that excellent archbishop of Canterbury, *Ealpheg*, with others, and, according to their barbarous treatment, detain'd him, and put him to the extremities of famine, and other unspeakable pain. He, overpower'd by human frailty, promises them money, fixing a time at which he would procure it; that, if within that time no acceptable ransom offer'd it self whereby he might escape a momentary death, he might however purge himself by frequent prayers, to be offered a lively sacrifice to the Lord. When the time appointed was come, his greedy guilt of Pirates call forth the servant of the Lord, and with any threatenings presently demand the tribute which he had promis'd. His answer was, Here am I like a meek lamb, ready to undergo all things, in the love of Christ, which you shall presume to inflict upon me; that I may be thought worthy of being an example to his servants. This day, I am in no way disturb'd. As to my seeming to deceive you, it was not my own fault, but the extremity of want that forc'd me to it. This body of mine, which in this pilgrimage I have lov'd too much, I surrender to you as a mortal, and I know it is in your power to do with it what you please: but my sinful soul, over which you have no power, I humbly commend to the mercy of all things. While he spake these things, a troop of proane villains encompass'd

encompass'd him, and got together several sorts of weapons to assault him. Which when their captain *Thurkil* perceiv'd at some distance, he ran to them in all hast, crying, I desire you will not by any means do this: I freely divide among you my gold, silver, and whatever I have or can procure (except the ship only,) on condition you do not offend against the Law anointed. But this fair language did not soften the unbri'd fierceness of these fellows; harder than iron and rocks, and not to be appeas'd but by the effusion of innocent blood, which they presently and unanimously spilt by pouring upon him Ox-heads, and showers of stones and sticks. This place was famous for a Royal seat, which was built by Humphry duke of Gloucester and call'd by him *Placentia*. King Henry VII. very much enlarg'd it, added a small house of Friars Mendicants, and finish'd that tower, bearing the duke Humphrey on the top of a high hill, from which there is a most pleasant prospect down to the winding river, and the green meadows. It was finish'd by king Henry VIII. and afterwards much enlarg'd and beautified; for which it was indebted to it's new inhabitant Henry Howard earl of Northampton. (But that house is now in a manner quite demolish'd, and another was begun in the place by king Charles the second, which stands imperfect. The castle also, or tower, is now quite ras'd, and a Royal Observatory set in the place by the same king Charles the second, furnish'd with all sorts of Mathematical Instruments fit for Astronomical Observations: as Clocks, Telescopes, Quadrants, and a deep dry Well for observation of the Stars in the day time: all which have been for many years most diligently and skilfully us'd by the late learn'd Mr. Flamsteed, the king's mathematician. The same earl of Northampton built also an hospital here; endowing it with Lands for the maintenance of a governour and twenty poor men: he built likewise two others in Shropshire and Norfolk, as appears by the epitaph on his magnificent tomb in the South isle of the church in Dover-castle; where he is not interr'd, but in a marble coffin, which is supported above the marble top of his tomb, above five foot from the ground. The epitaph is thus:

Henricus Howard, Henrici Comitiss Surriæ filius; Thomæ, secundus Northamptoniæ Ducis, Nepos; & Thomæ tertii frater; Comes Northamptoniæ; B. Howard de Marnhill; privati Sigilli Custos; Castri Durovernenis Comes; Eques auratus, & Academia Cantabrigiensi cancellarius; inter Nobiles illustrissimus; in spem resurgendi in Christo hic conditur.

Obiit 15 die Junii MDCXIV.

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*Inclitus hic Comes tria Hospitalia fundavit & largiundis ditavit, unum  
Greenwici in Cantio, in quo xx egeni & Praefectus; Alterum Cluni in Com-  
itu Salopiae, in quo xii egeni cum praefecto; tertium ad castrum Rising in Com.  
Norfolciae, in quo xii pauperculæ cum gubernatrice, in perpetuum aluntur.*

The latter part whereof, in relation to the foresaid Charities, runs thus  
in English:

*This renowned earl founded three hospitals, and endow'd them with lands;  
one at Greenwich in Kent, in which a governour and twenty poor men; another  
at Clun, in Shropshire, in which a governour and twelve poor men; a third at  
the castle of Rising in Norfolk, in which a governess with twelve poor women;  
are maintained for ever.*

Here queen Mary was born, and here Edward the sixth died.

But the greatest ornament by far that Greenwich has had, is our Eliza-  
beth, who, being born here, by the goodness of providence, did so enlighten  
Britain, nay, and even the whole world, with the rays of her royal virtues.  
that no praise can equal her merit. But as to what concerns Greenwich,  
take also the verses of our antiquary Leland,

*Ecce at jam niteat locus petitus,  
Tanquam sydereæ domus cathedræ.  
Quæ fastigia picta? quæ fenestræ?  
Quæ turres vel ad astra se offerentes?  
Quæ poro viridaria, ac perennes  
Fontes? Flora sinum occupat venusta  
Fundens delicias nitentis korti.  
Rerum commodus aestimator ille,  
Ripe qui variis modis amenæ,  
Nomen contulit eleganter aptum.*

How bright the lofty seat appears!  
Like Jove's great palace pav'd with stars.  
What roofs, what windows charm the eye?  
What turrets, rivals of the sky?  
What constant springs? what smiling meads?  
Here Flora's self in state resides,  
And all around her does dispense.  
Her gifts and pleasing influence.

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[Happy



## KENT.

Happy the man, who'er he was,  
Whose lucky wit so nam'd the place,  
As all it's beauties to express.

I have nothing further to observe in this place, unless it be (not to suffer the memory of deserving and worthy persons to perish) that William Lambard, a person of great learning and singular piety, built a hospital here for relief of the poor, which he call'd Queen Elizabeth's College for the poor; and that John duke of Argyle, a person of distinguish'd Figure and Abilities, was created a peer of Great Britain in the fourth year of queen Anne, by the titles of baron of Chatham, and earl of Greenwich. Near Greenwich is Lewsham, for the erecting in which place, two free-schools and an almshouse, by Abraham Rolfe, Clerk, an act of parliament was made in the 12th year of king Charles II.

Behind Greenwich, scarce three miles distant, lies Eltham, which was also a retiring place of the kings; built by Anthony Bee bishop of Durham and patriarch of Jerusalem, and bestow'd by him upon Eleanor wife to king Edward I, after he had craftily got the estate of the Vescies, to whom it formerly belong'd. For it is said, that this bishop, whom the last baron of Vescy made his Feoffee in trust (that he might keep the estate for William de Vescy his young son, but illegitimate) did not deal so fairly by this Orphan, as he ought to have done.

Below Greenwich, the Thames throwing down it's banks has laid several acres of ground under water: and some persons having for many years endeavour'd to keep it out at vast expence, scarce find their works and walls able to defend the neighbouring fields against the Violence of the Stream. There is a great plenty of Cochlearia or Scurvygrafs growing here, which some Physicians will have to be Pliny's *Britannica*; and upon that account I mention it in this place. But Mr. Ray the great Botanist of this age is of opinion, that this was not *Cochlearia rotundifolia sive Bataveum*, which we call Garden-scurvygrafs (tho' that also be found in many places on our coasts, and on some mountains in the midland;) but *Cochlearia Britannica*, or Scurvygrafs; and so cannot be the *Britannica* of Pliny, tho' it may have the same virtues. What the true *Britannica* of Pliny and the ancients is, Abraham Mutinius thinks he has found out. He makes it to be the great *Water-dock*, [*Hydrolapathum maximum*, *Ger Park.*] But, in relation to this *Britannica* take Pliny's own words: *In Germany, when Germanicus Caesar moved his camp forward beyond the Rhine; in the maritime part, there was one fountain (and no more) of fresh water, which if one drank of, his urine would drop out in two years time, and the joints of his knees become stiff and feeble. Those Evils the physicians term'd Stomacace, and Scleroticæ.*

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For remedy hercof, the herb call'd Britannica, was found out, as not only good for the sinews and mouth, but also against the Squinsie, and stinging of serpents, &c. The Frisians, where our camp was, shew'd it to our soldiers: but I wonder for what reason it should be so called, unless the Inhabitants of the sea-coasts gave it the name of Britannica, as lying so near Britain. But the learned Hadrianus Junius, in his *Nomenclator*, gives another, and indeed more probable, reason of the name; whom for your satisfaction please to consult; for this word *Britannica* has drawn me too far out of my read already.

From Greenwich the Thames goes on to Woolwich; which, how it came to be overlook'd by the historians of this County, is much to be wonder'd; and the more, for it's having contributed to the number of our Ships-royal equally with any other two: besides it's Right, by seniority, to the title of Mother-dock to them all. Witness her having given birth to,

Harry *graces de Dieu*.  
 Prince Royal.  
 Sovereign Royal.  
 Nazely, afterwards the Charles.  
 Richard, afterwards the James.  
 St. Andrew.

3 Hen. 8.  
 8 Jac. 1.  
 13 Car. 1.  
 7  
 10 } Car. 2.  
 22 }

But, whatever that omission was owing to, Woolwich must be owned to serve the town, among those of the greatest importance, at this day.

The Thames growing narrower, is met by the river Darent; which, coming out of Surrey, flows with a gentle chanel by Westream, where is a seat of the earl of Jersey, and not far from Seven-oak so call'd (as they say) from seven oaks of an exceeding height; and only remarkable for a Lord Mayor of that name, who gratefully built an Hospital and School there, and for the debt given by Jack Cade and his followers to Sir Humphrey Stafford, whom they sent against them. Adjoining to which, is Knoll, the seat of the earls of Sussex. Then it runs to Chevening, not long since the seat of Thomas Lennard, earl of Sussex; now, the seat of James Stanhope, earl Stanhope, viscount Mahone, and baron Elvafton; which honours have been most deservedly confer'd upon him by king George the 1st, in consideration of the signal Services perform'd by him to his country, as well in the camp, as in the court and the senate; and particularly that of viscount Mahone, in testimony of his gallant Behaviour in the Spanish war. Then to Otford, now Otford, where Olla, king of the Mercians, so compleatly subdu'd Ealhmund king of Kent, and his whole army, Ann. 773, that he endeavour'd to transfer (as it were in triumph) the Archbishop's chair into his own dominions; which he effected so far,

that he got Lichfield exempted from the jurisdiction of Canterbury, obtaining a Pall for it of pope Adrian I. Ann. 766: the Sees of Worcester, Leicester, Sidnacester, Hereford, Helmham, and Dunwich, being also erected into a Province for it; in which state it continu'd from the year 766, to 797, in all thirty one years. And in that time (as Matthew of Westminster tells us) there sat three archbishops at Lichfield, viz, Ealdulphus, Humbertus, and lastly Higbertus; in whose time the See of Canterbury was restor'd to it's former dignity, by Kinulf or Kenwolf who was likewise king of the Mercians. It is further famous for a bloody defeat of the Danes in the year 1016; and proud of it's noble palace built by Warham archbishop of Canterbury for him and his successors, with such splendour and magnificence, that Cranmer his immediate successor, to avoid envy, was forc'd to exchange it with Henry VIII. Lullingston, where was formerly a castle, the seat of a noble family of the same name, lies lower down upon the Darent, (which runs next, to Derwent, giving it's name to the place where Vortimer the son of Vortiger (who was depos'd, as Nenius tells us, not for marrying Hengist's, but his own daughter) set upon the Saxons, and kill'd many of them; and at it's mouth gives name to Drentford, commonly Dartford, a large and throng market, (infamous for the rebellion of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, which began here. But now of late re-enobled by giving title to sir Edward Villers, who, March 20. 1690, was created baron Villers of Hoo in this County, and viscount Villers of Dartford.) Below this place, Darent receives the little river Crece. At Creccanford, now Croyford, a ford over this river, Hengist the Saxon, eight years after the coming-in of the Saxons, engag'd the Britans; where he cut off their Commanders, and gave them such a bloody defeat, that afterwards he quietly establish'd his kingdom in Kent, without fear of disturbance from that quarter.

From Darent to the mouth of Medway, the Thames sees nothing but some small towns; the omission whereof would ne no damage either to their reputation, or any thing else. However, the most [noted and] most considerable of them are these. [Green-hithe, where, as Mr. Lambard tells us Swane king of Denmark landed and encamp'd himself: but it seems rather to have been higher up in the Country, at the town call'd Swancombe, there appearing no remains of any such fortification now at Greenhith, nor any tradition of it; whereas Swancombe seems to have taken it's name upon some such occasion. Gravesend, as noted as most towns in England, for being a sort of *station* between Kent and London; where king Henry VIII. fortify'd both sides of the river. On the back of this, a little more westerly land, stands Cobham, for a long time the seats of the barons, of whom the last whereof John Cobham built a college here, and a castle at Couling leaving one only daughter, wife of John de la Pole, knight: who had

only daughter Joan, marry'd to several husbands. But she had issue only by Reginald Braybrooke. Her third husband John de Oldcastle, was burnt, and burnt, for endeavouring Innovations, (or more truly Reformati-  
 on) in Religion. But the only daughter of Reginald Braybrooke, nam'd Joan, was marry'd to Thomas Brook of the County of Somerset: from him, sixth in a lineal descent was Henry Brook baron Cobham, who, because his fortune did not humour him in every thing, was driven by his ungovernable passions to throw off his Allegiance to the most gracious of Kings: for which he had the sentence of death pass'd upon him; but his life was spared, as a monument of the Clemency of his prince.

From Graves-end, a small tract, like a Chersonese, call'd Ho, shoots itself a long way to the east, between the Thames and the Medway: the situation of it not very wholsom. In it is Cliff, a pretty large town, so nam'd after the Cliff upon which it stands. But whether this be that Clives at which famous for a synod, in the infancy of the English church, I dare not say (some others are) be positive; partly because the situation is not very convenient for a synod, and partly because the old Clives at Ho seems to have been in the kingdom of Mercia. According to the opinions of sir Henry Spelman and Mr. Talbot, both eminent antiquaries, three several councils were held in this place; the first call'd by Cuthbert archbishop of Canterbury, at which was present Æthelbald king of Mercia, An. 742; the second under Kenulph, also king of Mercia, An. 803; and the third under Wulf his successor, An. 822: upon which account Mr. Lambard also doubts whether Cloveshoo were not in Mercia rather than in Kent, the kings of Mercia being either present at them, or the Councils call'd by their authority; neither of which would probably have been at a place so far from them, and so incommodious for such a purpose. Nevertheless Mr. Lambard, upon the authority of Talbot (yet reserving a power of revoking upon better information) agrees that Cliff at Hoo must be the place; and the reason because he finds no such place as Cloveshoo within the precincts of Kent, altho' there be divers places there, that bear the name of Cliff as well as. But a later conjecture seems to come nearer the truth, placing it at Abbingdon, now Abbingdon, in the kingdom of Mercia, near the middle of the river; and therefore most convenient for such an Assembly. This place anciently before the foundation of the abbey there, was call'd Shehovesham, which either by corruption of Speech, or carelessness of the Scribes, be easily mistook instead of Clovesham or Cloveshoo, as any one, moderately skill'd in these affairs, will easily grant.

The river Medwege, now Medway (in British, if I mistake not, *Vaga*, whence the Saxons added Med; for the making of which navigable in Kent

and Suffex, a Statute passed in the 16th year of king Charles the second; rises in the wood Anderida, call'd Wealde (i. e. a woody country,) which for a long way together covers the south part of this County. At first, being yet but small, it runs by Pens-hurst, the seat of the ancient family of the Sidneys, descended from William de Sidney, Chamberlain to Henry II. Of which family was Henry Sidney, the famous Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who, by the daughter of John Dudley duke of Northumberland and earl of Warwick, had Philip and Robert. Robert was honour'd, first with the title of baron Sidney of Pens-hurst, and then with that of viscount Lisle by James the I. to which the title of earl of Leicester was also added by the same Prince. But Philip (not to be omitted here without an unpardonable crime, the great glory of that family, the great hopes of mankind, the most lively pattern of virtue, and the darling of the learned world) both engaging the enemy at Zutphen in Gelderland, lost his life bravely and valiantly. This is that Sidney, whom as Providence seems to have sent in to the world, to give the present age a specimen of the ancients; so did on a sudden recall him, and snatch him from us, as more worthy of heaven than of earth. Thus, when Virtue is come to perfection, it presently leaves us; and the best things are seldom lasting. Rest then in peace, O Sidney! (if I may be allow'd this address;) we will not celebrate thy memory with tears, but with admiration. Whatever we lov'd in thee (as the best of authors speaks of that best governor of Britain,) whatever we admir'd in thee, continues, and will continue in the memories of men, the revolutions of ages, and the annals of time. Many, as inglorious and ignoble, are bury'd in oblivion; but Sidney shall live to all posterity. For, as the greek poet has it, *Virtue's beyond the reach of fate.*

From hence the river Medway goes on to Tunbridge, where is an old castle built by Richard de Clare, who had it by exchange for Briony in Normandy his grandfather Godfrey, natural son to Richard I, duke of Normandy, being earl of Ewe and Briony. For after a long contest about Briony, Richard (as we are told by Gulielmus Gemeticensis) *in recompence for the same castle took the town Tunbridge in England.* For they affirm that the *Levy of Briony was measur'd about with a line, and that he receiv'd an equal quantity of ground at Tunbridge, measur'd by the same line, which was brought over into England.* But his successors, earls of Gloucester, held the manour of Tunbridge of the archbishops of Canterbury; upon condition, that they should be Stewards at the instalment of the archbishops, and should grant them the Wardship of their children. For the better maintenance of a Free-school here, we find (14 Eliz. 31 Eliz.) two Statutes, expressly assuring certain lands and tenements for that purpose. This place hath given the title of viscount to William Henry of Nassau, nearly ally'd to the late king William the third.

third, and created by him, in the seventh year of his reign, baron of Enfield, Viscount Tunbridge, and earl of Rochford; to whom succeeded William his eldest son, the present possessor of the honours aforesaid. South from hence, at about four or five miles distance, lie the famous Chalybeate springs call'd Tunbridge-wells, so happily temper'd with martial salt, and so useful in carrying off many radicated distempers, and procuring impregnation; that they have been frequented of late to that degree, as to cause the building of a great number of houses all about the place, together with a fair chapel, wherein there are prayers read twice a day during the season; most of which houses being situate in the parish of Tunbridge, the whole are stiled Tunbridge-wells, tho' the Wells themselves are in Spelhurst, the neighbouring parish.

Then, Medway glides forward, near Hunton, where, in the year, 1683, was found in digging, about six yards deep, a hard floor or pavement, composed of shells or shell-like stones, about an inch deep, and several yards over. They are of the sort called Conchites, and resemble sea-fish of the testaceous kind; but yet it appears not, upon enquiry, that in the memory of man, any floods from the river have reached so far as this place. Then the Medway runs on, not far from Fair-lane, the seat of the lord Bernard; nor far from Mereworth, where is a house like a little castle, which from the girls of Arundel came to the Nevils lords of Abergevenny, and to Le Despenser; whose heir, in a right line was Mary Fane, to whom and her heirs, King James (the 1st,) in his first parliament, *restor'd, gave, granted, &c. the name, stile, title, honour, and dignity of* baroness le Despenser; *and that her heirs successively be barons le Despenser for ever.* The Medway hastens next to Maidstone, which (because the Saxons call'd it Medweston and *Medreager-*) I am inclin'd to believe was the *Vagniacæ* mention'd by Antoninus, and to be called by Ninnius in his catalogue of cities *Caer Megwad*, correctly for *Medwag*. Nor do the distances gainsay it, on one hand from *Nemagus*, and on the other from *Durobrovis*; of which by and by. And perhaps is as near the mark, or nearer (if similitude of sound be of any importance) as the conjecture of archbishop Usher, who would have the *Megnaid* or *Megwad* of Ninnius, rather to be *Meivod* in *Montgomery*; which also he would have to be the *Mediolanum* of Antoninus, and not *Vagniacæ*. This, doubtless, was so nam'd from the river *Vaga*, and that call'd from it's extravagant *stragling* and *winding*, as it does hereabout. Under the later emperors (as we learn from the Peutegerian Table publish'd by M. Velferus) it is call'd *Madus*. And thus we see the change of names, is the change of Names. This is a neat and populous town, stretch'd into a great length; and, ever since the Roman times, it hath been esteem'd

esteem'd considerable in all ages, having had the favour and protection of the archbishops of Canterbury: In the middle is their Palace, begun (as is said) by John Ufford, and finished by Simon Hilp. But it archbishop Ufford begun it, he must certainly be very early in it, not living after his Election much above six months, and never receiving either his pall or consecration; inasmuch, that he is seldom number'd among the archbishops. Archbishop Courtney was also a great friend to this town; who built the college here, where he ordered his esquire, John Boteler, to bury him, in the cemetery of this his collegiate church, and not in the church it self; where yet he has a tomb, and had an epitaph too, which is set down in Wever: but this seems rather to have been his Cenotaph, than his real place of burial; it having been customary in old time for persons of eminent rank and quality, to have tombs erected in more places than one. For Mr Somner tells us, that he found in a Lieger-book of Christ church, that King Richard the II, hapening to be at Canterbury when he was to bury'd, commanded his body (notwithstanding his own order) to be there interr'd, where he still lies at the feet of the black prince in a goodly tomb of alabaster yet remaining. Here is likewise one of the two common goals of this County, and it is beholden for a great many immunities to queen Elizabeth, who made their chief Magistrate a Mayor instead of a Portgreve, which they had till that time; a thing I rather take notice of, because this is an ancient Saxon word, and to this day, among the Germans, signifies a Governour, as Markgrave, Reingrave, Landgrave, &c. Nor has it yet much fallen from it's ancient dignity, it remaining to this day the Shire-town (as they call it,) where the Assizes for the county are usually kept. It is also a Burrough, sending three Burgesies to parliament. In short, it is a large, sweet, and populous town, and is of later years render'd more remarkable, by giving the title of Viscount Maidstone to the honourable family of the Finches, earls of Winchelsea (Elizabeth, wife of Sir Moylv Finch, sole daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Henage, being first advanc'd to the dignity of viscountess Maidstone July 8. 21 Jac. 1. with remainder to the heirs males of her body) and for the fight which happen'd here June 2. 1648, between Sir Thomas Fairfax general for the parliament, and some Kentish gentlemen, who had taken arms in defence of king Charles I, and posted themselves in this town. Which town so well defended, tho' unequal in number, (the streets being well man'd, the houses well liv'd within,) that general Fairfax, with an army of near thousand men, could not gain it from them till after three assaults by which it endured with such obstinacy, that the veteran soldiers confess'd, whatever they got was by inches and dearly bought, and that they had never met with the like desperate service during all the war.)

Here, at Maidstone, the Medway is joyn'd by a small river from the east, which rises, (saith Lambard, at Bygon, others at Evel, in a little wood less than a mile west of Lenham; ) very probably the *Durolenum* of Antoninus, writtally in some copies *Durolevum*. For *Durolenum* in British, is, the water *Lenum*; and, besides the remains of the name, the distance from *Durovernum* and *Durobrovis* confirms this to be the *Durolenum*; not to mention it's situation upon a consular way of the Romans, which formerly (as Higden of Chester affirms) went from Dover, through the middle of Kent. But others will not allow this to be the *Aqua-lena*; thinking rather that that is the spring, in the town call'd Street-well, perhaps from the Strata of the Romans that led hither heretofore; which (as it is pleaded) might give name to the station here, call'd *Durolenum*, it having the true distance in the itinerary from *Durobrovis* or Rochester according to Aldus's copy, which is sixteen miles; but not so from *Durovernum* or Canterbury; which in all the copies I have yet seen is but twelve from *Durolevum*, whereas it is distant from Lenham at least sixteen. It is pleaded further, that no Roman antiquities were ever found about Lenham, to confirm that opinion. The distances then disagreeing so much, and no antiquities appearing, it is plain there is little else left beside the similitude of names to support it. What then if we should pitch upon Bapchild, a place lying between Sittingbourn and Ospring, the ancient name whereof is *Baccanceld*, afterwards contracted into Beck-child, and now corruptly call'd Bapchild. For as *Dur* denotes water, so *Bec* in the Saxon answers that; or at least the termination *celd*, implying a pool, will in some measure suit the old name. But what is of more consequence in this matter, is, it's being in the Saxon times a place of very great note; insomuch that archbishop Brightwold, An. 700, held a Synod at it. Now it is a general remark made by antiquaries, that the Saxons particularly fix'd upon those places, where the Romans had left their Stations; from whence at present so many of our towns end in Chester. And even at this day, here are the ruins of two old churches or chapels, besides the parish-church. Moreover, if the Roman road betwixt the Kentish-cities was the same with the present, then *Duro-*  
*lenum* (which, by the by, is only read *Durolenum* to reconcile it to Lenham) must be somewhere about this parish; because no other place in this road of so agreeable a distance, between the said cities. Now, there cannot be a shorter cut between Rochester and Canterbury, than the present, unless one could level hills, or travel through bogs; and yet by this, the distance between is about twenty five miles, the same with the itinerary; as also where *Durolevum* comes between, thirteen to it from Rochester, and twelve from it.

it to Canterbury, make exactly the same number. That there are no visible remains of the old road, may be very well attributed to this, that having been all along one of the most frequented roads in England, and us'd probably ever since the Roman works were made, it is now levell'd with the adjacent earth, and only serves for a good bottom. The old causey indeed between Canterbury and *Lemanis* still in part remain, and is call'd Stone-street, being the common way into those quarters. But then for these thousand years, *that* has been private and inconsiderable with respect to this other; and the soil also may make a difference. For that which goes to *Lemanis* has a foundation all of natural rock and hard chalk, and the adjoining fields afford sufficient quantity of most lasting materials. Whereas from Rochester to Canterbury, the soil is of it self soft and tender, and the neighbouring parts yeild no such supply of durable materials.

As to it's having been a constant road, it may be thus made probable. In Bede's time the distance between Rochester and Canterbury was twenty four miles (and so some call it at this day twenty four, others twenty five,) so that it could not be alter'd then. In the 12th Century, there was a *Maison Dieu* erected at Ospringe, for the receiving knights Templars coming in to and going out of the kingdom, and Chaucer going in pilgrimage to St. Thomas, pass'd thro' Boughton to Canterbury; as they still do.

However, it must be own'd, that *Durolenum* may be placed with greater probability at Lenham, than, with Mr. Somner or Mr. Burton, at Newington near Sittingburn; where it is true many Roman antiquities have been found: yet being but eight miles from Rochester, and seventeen from Canterbury, it is altogether out of distance on both sides. But though no antiquities (as hath been said) do appear at Lenham, there is a thing exceeding remarkable, mention'd on the tomb of Robert Thompson, Esq; in the church there, who was grandchild to that truly religious matron Mary Honeywood wife of Robert Honeywood of Charing, Esq; 'She had at her decease, lawfully descended from her, three hundred and sixty seven children; sixteen of her own body, one hundred fourteen grandchildren, two hundred twenty eight in the third generation, and nine in the fourth: her renown liveth with her posterity; her body lieth in this church, and her monument may be seen in Marks-hall in Essex, where she died'.

Hard by Lenham, at Bocton Malherbe, the noble family of the Wottons dwelt a long time; of which (so said, Ann. 1607.) within our memory flourish'd Nicholas Wotton doctor of Laws, Privy-councillor to king Henry VIII, Edward VI, queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth; ambassador to foreign Courts nine times, and employ'd thrice in a Treaty of Peace between the English, French, and Scots; and so he run through the course

of a long life, with great commendation both for piety and prudence : as also, Edward Wotton the son of his nephew by a brother, whom, for his great experience and knowledge, queen Elizabeth made lord controller, and king James (the I.) created baron Wotton of Merlay. (Afterwards, this estate came by marriage to the family of the Stanhopes, earls of Chesterfield. In the second year of king Charles the II, Charles Henry Kirkhoven was created lord Wotton of Boston Malherbe.

Nor hath this river any other thing memorable upon it, besides Leeds-castle, built by the noble Crevequers, call'd in ancient charters *de creuecuer*, and *de Crepito Corde*. Afterwards, it was the unfortunate seat of Bartholomew baron of Badilsmer, who treacherously fortify'd it against king Edward the II, who had given it him : but afterwards he found the rewards of his treachery, upon the gallows. Take, if you please, the whole relation, out of a little history of Thomas De-la-More, a noble person who liv'd in the same age, which I (so said, ann. 1607. lately publish'd.) ' In the year 1321, came queen Isabel to the castle of Leeds about Michaelmas, where she design'd to lodge all night, but was not suffer'd to enter. The king highly resenting this, as done in contempt of him, call'd together some neighbouring inhabitants out of *Essex* and *London*, and gave them orders to besiege the castle. Bartholomew de Baldilsmer was he who own'd it ; and having left his wife and sons in it, was gone with the rest of the barons to spoil the estate of *Hugh de Spenser*. The besieg'd in the mean time despairing of succour, the barons with their associates came as far as *Kingston*, and, with the mediation of the bishops of *Canterbury* and *London*, and the earl of *Pembroke*, petition'd the king to raise the siege, promising to surrender the castle into his hands, after the next parliament. But the king, considering that the besieg'd could not hold out long, and moreover, incens'd at this their contumacy, would not listen to the petition of the barons. After they had dispersed themselves to other parts, he gain'd the castle, tho' with no small difficulty ; and sending his wife and sons to the *Tower of London*, hang'd the rest that were in it.

Thus the Medway, after it has receiv'd the little river *Len*, passes through fruitful cornfields ; and by Allington-castle (where Tho. Wiat, senior, a learned knight built a fair house) runs to Ailesford, in Saxon *Eaglefford*, call'd by Henry Huntindon Elstre, and by Ninnius Epifford ; who has also told us, it was call'd *Saiffenaeg-baibai* by the Britains, because of the Saxons being conquer'd there ; as others have in the same sense call'd it Anglesford. For sometime the Britain, son of Guortigern, fell upon Hengist and the English Saxons here, and, having disorder'd them so on the first onset, that they were not able to stand a second charge, he put them to flight ; and they had been.

been routed once for all, had not Hengist, by a singular art of preventing dangers, betaken himself to the isle of Thanet, till that resolute firebrand of the Britains was a little allay'd; and fresh forces came out of Germany. In this battle, the two generals were slain, Catigern the Britain, and Horsa the Saxon; the latter was buried at Horsted, a little way from hence, and left his name to the place; the former was buried in great state, as it is thought, near Aylesford, where those four vast stones are pitch'd on end with others lying cross-ways upon them; much of the same form with that British monument call'd Stone-henge. And this the common people do still, from Catigern, call Keith-coty-house. (Hitherto also, king Edmund Iron-side pursu'd the Danes, and slew many of them, and from hence drove them into Shepey, where, had he not been stop'd by the treachery of duke Godwin, he had finally destroy'd them. Here also Radulphus Frisburn, under the patronage to Richard lord Grey of Codnor, with whom he return'd from the wars of the Holy Land, founded a house for Carmelites in Aylesford-wood, An. 1246, in imitation of those, whose lives he had observ'd in the wilderness of Palestine; and they thriv'd so well, that quickly after in the year 1245, there was a general Chapter of the Order held here, in which John Stock (so call'd from his living in a hollow tree) was chosen General of the Order, throughout the world. We will only add, that this place gives the title of earl to Heneage Finch (second son of Henage earl of Nottingham) who hath been successively honour'd with the titles of baron of Guernesey, and earl of Aylesford, in consideration as well of his noble descent, as his great knowledge in the laws and constitution of this kingdom.

Nor must we forget Boxley, hard by, where William de Ipre, a Fleming earl of Kent, built a monastery in the year 1145, supplying it with monks from Clarevalle in Burgundy. And not far from the opposite bank, just over-against this, is Birling, formerly the barony of the Maminots, and then of Saies, whose estate at last came by females to the families of Clinton, Flores and Aulton.

On the east-side of Medway (after it has pass'd by Halling, where Ham de Heath, bishop of Rochester, built a seat for his Successors, and where Mr. Lambard, the first Historiographer of this County, sometime liv'd in the bishop's house;) a little higher up, is an ancient city, call'd by Antoninus *Duro-brus*, *Durobrivæ*, and in some other places more truly *Duro-provæ*, or *Durobrovæ*. Bede has it *Durobrevis*; and in the decline of the Roman empire, time had so contracted this name, that it was call'd *Roibis*; whence, with the addition of *Cæster* (which being deriv'd from the latin *castrum*, was us'd by our ancestors to signify a town, or castle,) they call'd it *Rhouceæster*, and by contraction Rochester.

ter; as the latins call'd it *Roffa*, from one *Rheffus* as Bede imagines, though to me there seems to be some remains of *Roffa* in the old *Duro-brovis*. And as to the name, there is no reason to doubt of that; since (besides the course of the itinerary and Bede's authority) in the Foundation-charter of the cathedral church it is expressly call'd *Durobrovis*. Only, this I would have to be observ'd, that the printed copies of Bede read *Danuerrum*, where the manuscripts have *Durobrovis*. It is plac'd in a Vale, and on some sides encompass'd with walls, but not very strong; and (as Malmesbury says) is pent within too narrow a compass: so that it was formerly look'd upon as a castle, rather than a city; for Bede calls it *Castellum Cantuariorum*, i. e. *the castle of the Kentish-men*. But now it runs out with large suburbs, towards west, east, and south. It has had a great many misfortunes. In the year of our Lord 676, it was destroy'd by Æthelred the Mercian; and after that, was more than once plunder'd by the Danes. It was sack'd by them in the days of king Ethelred, An. 839, and besieg'd by them again in An. 885, when they set up works round it, but it was reliev'd by Alfred; and all the lands of the bishoprick were laid waste by king Ethelred, An. 986. For Æthelbert, king of Kent, had built a stately church in it, and honour'd it with an episcopal See, making Justus the first bishop; but when that church was decay'd with age, Gundulphus repair'd it about the year 1080, and turning out the priests, put monks in their stead; who are themselves now ejected, and a dean, with six prebendaries, and scholars fill their places. Near the church, there hangs over the river, a castle, fortify'd very well both by art and nature; which, according to the common tradition, was built by Odo, bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent. But without all doubt, William I. was founder of it. For we read in domesday, *The bishop of Rochester holds in Elesford, for exchange of the ground upon which the castle stands*. It is certain however that bishop Ono, depending upon an uncertain Revolution, held this against William Rufus; and that at last, for want of provisions, he did not only surrender it, but was degraded also, and quitted the kingdom. As to the repairing of the castle, take this out of the *Textus Roffensis*. *When William II. would not confirm Lanfrank's gift of the manour of Hedenham in the county of Buckingham, to the church of Rochester; unless Lanfrank, and Gundulph bishop of Rochester, would give the king one hundred pounds of Deniers: it was by the intercession of Robert Fitz-Hammon, and Henry earl of Warwick, that the king yielded, that instead of the money which he demanded in consideration of the Grant of the manour, bishop Gundulph (because he was well vers'd in Architecture and Masonary) should build for him the castle of Rochester, of stone, and at his own proper charge. At length when the bishops, tho' with some difficulty, were brought to a compliance in the presence of the king,*

E

bishop

*bishop Gundulph built the castle entirely at his own cost.* And a little while after, king Henry I. (as Florence of Worcester has it) granted to the church of Canterbury and the archbishops, the custody and constableness of it for ever; and liberty to build a tower in it for themselves. Since which time, it has undergone one or two sieges; but then especially, when the Barons wars alarm'd all England, and Simon de Montefort vigorously assaulted it, though in vain, and cut down the wooden bridge. Instead of which, a curious arch'd stone-bridge (one of the finest, if not the very best in England) was afterwards built with money rais'd out of the French spoils, by John Cobham, and Robert Knowles; the latter whereof rais'd himself by his warlike courage, from nothing, to the highest pitch of honour. Of late years, it gave an additional title to the lord Wilmot of Adderbury in *Cem. Oxon.* who in consideration of his great and many signal services done to the Crown at home and abroad, was created earl of Rochester by Letters Patents, bearing date at Paris, Dec. 13. 1652. 4 Car. II. Who dying An. 1659, was succeeded in his honour by his only son John, a person of extraordinary wit and learning. He dying without issue July 26. 1680; Lawrence Hyde, second son to Edward earl of Clarendon, viscount Hyde of Kenelworth, and baron of Wootton Bassett, was created earl of Rochester Nov. 29. 1682. 34 Car. II.

The Medway posts thro' the foresaid bridge with a violent course like a torrent; but presently growing more calm, affords a Dock to the best appointed Fleet that ever the Sun saw, ready for action on all occasions, and built at great expence by the most serene queen Elizabeth for the safety of her kingdoms, and the terror of her enemies; who also, for the security of it, rais'd a fort upon the bank. This Yard was at first confin'd to a narrow slip on the edge of the river, beneath the church; and furnish'd only with one small Dock. Which, becoming too strait for the then growing service, was assign'd to the use of the Office of the Ordnance (where it still remains,) while that for the Navy was, about the year 1622, remov'd to the place where it now is, accommodated with all the Requisites of a Royal Arsenal, and thence since augmented by additions of Docks, Launches, Store-houses (one no less than six hundred sixty foot long) Mast-houses, Boat-houses, &c. all of a late erection, exceeding what had ever been before known in the Navy of England. All which being so well fenced with new Forts, such as those at Gillingham, Cockham-wood, the Swomp, &c. and order'd to be further fortified by an express law to that purpose; perhaps there may not be a more compleat Arsenal than this, in the whole world. To these, add the Royal Fort of Shireness in the isle of Shepey (where, by the way, there hath been also established a Yard, as an Appendix to Chatham, furnished for answering all occasions of Ships of lower rates, resorting thither in time of Action: which

was built at the mouth of this river by king Charles the second, and stands more commodiously for the security of the river, than the castle of Queenborough did, which was built there for that purpose by King Edward III, but is now demolish'd.

At Chatham also is reposit'd that solemn and only yet establish'd fund of naval charity for the relief of persons hurt at sea in the service of the crown, under the name of the Chest at Chatham, instituted *An.* 1588. When, with the advice of Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Hawkins, and others, the sea-men serving the then Queen, did voluntarily assign a portion of each man's pay to the succour of their then wounded fellows: Which method, receiving confirmation from the Queen, has been ever since maintain'd, and yet continues. Here also was erected an Hospital for the like pious use, at the private costs of Sir John Hawkins, in the 36th of the same Queen.

And now, having touched upon all the Yards and Docks in this county, in such order as their situation required; and this one county having contributed more than the whole number beside, to the building, repairing, safe-harbours, and equipping of the Navy of England; we will here give the reader a short view of the vast growth and improvement of the said Navy in this and the last age, according to the calculation made some years since by Samuel Pepys Esq; a person of great skill and experience in naval affairs; and to whose informations the reader is also indebted for the forementioned accounts.

The different states of the ROYAL NAVY.	In Mr. Camden's time.	At this day.
The number of ships and vessels, from 50 tons and upwards	but 40 ships	above 200 ships
The general tonnage of the whole	under 23600 tons	above 112400 tons
The number of men requir'd for manning the same	under 7800 men	above 45000 men
The medium of its annual charge during the last		
Five years of   Peace	under 15500 l.	above 400000 l.
Five years of   War	under 96400 l.	above 1620000 l.

Now Medway, grown fuller and broader, makes a pleasant show with its curling waves; and passes through fruitful fields, till, divided by Shepey-land (which I fancy is the same that Ptolemy calls Toliatis) it is carry'd to the river of Thames by two mouths; the one whereof, westward, is call'd West-swale; and the eastern one, which seems to have cut Shepey from the continent, East-swale; but by Bede Genlad and Yenlett. This and, from the sheep (a multitude whereof it feeds) was call'd by our ancestors

stors Shepey, *i. e.* an island of sleep: It is exceeding fruitful in corn, but wants wood; and is twenty-one miles in compass. Upon the northern shore, it had a small monastery, now call'd Minster, built by Sexburga, wife to Ercombert King of Kent, in the year 710. Below which, a certain Brabander lately undertook to make brimstone and coperas, of stones found upon the shore, by boiling them in a furnace. Upon the west side, it had a very beautiful and strong castle, built by King Edward the third, and was (as he himself expresses it) *pleasant in situation, the terror of his enemies, and the comfort of his subjects.* To this he added a Burgh, and in honour of Philippa of Hainault his Queen, call'd it Queenborough, *i. e.* the Burgh of the Queen. One of the constables of it, was Edward Heby, a person highly deserving honour and respect, as having very much improv'd his own excellent wit, with the ornaments of learning. To the East is Shurland, formerly belonging to the Cheineys, afterwards to Philip Herbert (second son to Henry earl of Pembroke) whom King James [the first,] the same day, created baron Herbert of Shurland, and earl of Montgomery; which still remains in the same family.

The right honourable Elizabeth lady Dacres, mother to Thomas earl of Sussex, was enobled with the title of countess of Shepey during life, Sept. 6. 1680, the 32d of Car. II. Since whose death, in consideration of many eminent services done the crown by the honourable Henry Sidney Esq, fourth son of Robert earl of Leicester, the titles of viscount Shepey and baron of Milton, near Sittingbourn, were both conferr'd on him by King William the III<sup>d</sup>, April 9, 1689, who was also afterwards created earl of Romney, and made lord warden of the Cinque-Ports, lord lieutenant of Ireland, and master of the ordnance.

This island belongs to the hundred of Midleton, so called from the town of Midleton, now Milton; and (as we just now observed) erected into a barony. It was formerly a royal Vill, and of much more note, than at present; tho' Hasting the Danish pyrate fortify'd a castle hard by, in the year 893, with a design to do it all the mischief he could; (the footsteps whereof do yet remain at Kemsley-Downs, beyond the church. This they now call (as being overgrown with bushes) the Castle-ruff, whither King Alfred coming against him, fortified himself on the other side of the water, the circle of which fortification, and some small part of the stone-work also, still remain by the name of Bavord-Castle, *secus fontes Cantianos*, near unto Sittingbourn. But the Dane never did the town of Milton so much real mischief, as Godwin earl of Kent; who being in rebellion against Edward the confessor in the year 1052, enter'd the King's town of Midleton, and burnt it to the ground; which, in all probability, stood in those days near the church, and

near a mile from the present town, and was, upon the rebuilding, remov'd to the head of the creek, where it now stands.) Near this, is Sittingbourn, a town well stor'd with Inns; (once both a mayor and market-town, but now, through disuse, enjoying neither :) And the remains of Tong-Castle, do also appear in the neighbourhood: This last was the ancient seat of Guncellin de Badilsmer, a person who enjoy'd great honours; whose son Bartholomew was the father of that Guncellin, who by the heiress of Ralph Fitz-Bernard, lord of Kingsdowne, had that seditious Bartholomew mention'd before. He again, by Margaret Clare, had Giles, who dy'd without issue; Margery, the wife of William Roos of Hamlak; Mawd, of John Vere earl of Oxford; Elizabeth, of William Bohun, earl of Northampton, and afterwards of Edmund Mortimer; and Margaret, of John Tiptoft: From whence descended a splendid race of princes and noblemen. (Not far from Sittingbourn, is Tenham, from which place Sir John Roper, in the time of King James the I, was created a baron of this Realm, by the title of lord Tenham; which is still enjoyed by the same family.

Next, I saw Feversham, which is very comodiously situated: for the most plentiful part of this Country lies round it, and it has a bay very convenient for importation and exportation; by which means it flourishes at this day above its neighbours. And seems formerly also to have made a good figure; seeing king Æthelstan held a meeting here for the Wise men of the kingdom, and made several laws, in the year of our Lord 903; and that Stephen who usurp'd the Crown of England, built a monastery for *Cluniacs*; wherein himself, his wife Mawd, and his son Eustace were all bury'd, And that this was founded for the monks of Clugny, appears to be true by his foundation-Charter printed in the *Monasticon*; he taking his first abbot and monks out of the abbey of Bermondsey of the same Order: But yet Mr. Somner, and Mr. Southouse, from the absolatory letters of Peter abbot of Bermondsey, and of the prior and monks of St. Mary de Caritate, finding Clarembaldus the first abbot of Feversham, and his monks, releas'd from all obedience and subjection to the church of Clugny, and to the abbot and prior aforesaid, are inclin'd to believe that the abbot and monks of Feversham (pursuant to their absolatory) presently took upon them the rule and habit of St. Bennet. Notwithstanding, it is clear they were still esteem'd of the Order of Clugny for several years after as farther appears by the Confirmation charters of king Henry II. king John, and Henry III, all printed in the *Monasticon*; and by the Bulls of Pope Innocent 3, Gregory 10, and Boniface 9, all in a MS. book in *Christ Church Canterbury*. So that I guess the mistake must lie on Mr. Somner's and Mr. South's side; the absolatory letters in all probability tending only to their absolatory from those particular Houses making any claim upon them,

them, and not from the Order it self: tho' it cannot be deny'd but that the Abbot and Monks of Reading were at first Cluniacs, and after become Bendictines, as perhaps these might do some years after the first foundation. And thus much for the Ecclesiastical state of this Town. As for Secular matters, it has of late days been honour'd by giving title to Sir George Sands of Lees Court in this County, Knight of the Bath, who in consideration of his faithful services to King Charles 1, was, by King Charles 2, advanced to the degree and dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the title of Baron of Throwley, as also of Viscount Sands of Lees Court, and earl of Feversham, by Letters patents bearing date at Westminster April 8. 28 Car. 2. which he was only to enjoy for term of life; with remainder to Lewis Lord Duras Marquess of Blanquefort in France, and Baron of Holderby in England; who marrying the Lady Mary eldest daughter of the said George earl of Feversham who dy'd Apr. 16. 1677, the said Lord Duras being naturalized by Act of Parliament, *An. 1665*, succeeded his Father-in-law in all his titles; by whose death, that of earl of Feversham is now extinct; and Lees-Court aforesaid is become a seat of the earl of Rockingham, by marriage with Catherine the sister of Mary, and (since the death of the Earl of Feversham) sole heir of that Estate.

Near this place (as also in other parts of the County) they discover here and there pits of great depth; which tho' narrow at the top, yet more inward are very capacious, having as it were distinct chambers, with pillars of Chalk. several opinions have been broach'd about them. For my part, I have nothing to offer as my own conjecture; unless they were those pits out of which the Britains dug Chalk to manure their ground, as they are said to have done by Pliny. For (says he) they us'd to sink pits a hundred foot deep narrow at the mouth, but within, of great compass: and just such, are those pits we describe; nor are they met-with any where, but in chalky grounds. Unless some will imagine, that the English-Saxons might dig such holes for the same uses the Germans did, from whom they were descended. They were wont (says Tacitus) to dig holes under-ground, and to cover them with great quantities of dung; thus, they prov'd a refuge against winter, and a garner for their corn for the bitterness of the cold is allay'd by such places. And if at any time the enemy surprize them, he plunders only what's open and expos'd; the secret corners and pits being either altogether unknown, or safe upon this account, that they are to be sought for.

From thence, upon an open shore abounding with shell-fish, and particularly Oysters (the pits of which are very common,) we see Reculver, a Saxon Reculer but formerly by the Romans and Britains Regulbium, as it is call'd in the Notitia; which tells us, that the Tribune of first cohort of

the Vetasians lay here in garrison, under the count of the Saxon shore (for so in those times were the sea-coasts-hereabouts, call'd.) And it justifies this it's antiquity, by the coins of Roman emperor's dug-up in it. This is the first Roman watch-tower, that comes in our way : And these Castles or Watch-towers being usually built upon the highest ground that was near the place, where it was thought convenient they should be set ; we may conclude, that this stood in that square-plot of rising ground, within which, afterwards, king Ethelbert's palace, and after that, the Monastery, stood, and now the Minister or church only stands encompass'd with the foundations of a very thick wall : Which may possibly be the remains of this ancient Roman fort ; it being of the same figure with the rest, that are still more perfect. However, that it was some where hereabouts, the great number of Cisterns, Cellars, &c. daily discover'd by the fall of the cliff, amply testify ; together with the great quantities of Roman brick or tile, Opus Musivum, coins, Fibulæ, Gold-wire, Ear-rings, Bracelets, &c. daily found in the sands. Which yet do all come from the land-ward, upon the fall of the cliffs ; the earthen parts whereof being wash'd away by the Sea, these metalline substances remain likewise behind in the sands, whence they are constantly pick'd out by the poor people of the place. And these they find here in such great quantities, that we must needs conclude it to have been a place heretofore of great extent, and very populous ; and that it has one time or other underwent some great devastation either by war or fire, or both. I think I may be confident of the latter, there being many patterns found of metals run together, whereof the Reverend Dr. Batteley, late arch-deacon of Canterbury (curious and skilful collector of such like antiquities) had a cogent proof, viz. of a piece of copper and gold thus joined in the melting, which he had from thence. About half a mile off, there appears in the Cliff, a Stratum of shells of the white Conchites, in a greenish Sand, not above two foot from the beach. Æthelbert king of Kent, when he gave Canterbury to Austin the monk, built here a palace for himself ; Baslo a Saxon adorn'd it with a monastery, out of which Brightwald, the eighth in the See of Canterbury, was call'd to be archbishop. Whereupon, it was from the monastery call'd to Raculf-minster, when Eldred, brother to *Edmund* the elder, gave it to Christ-church in Canterbury. At this day, it is nothing but a little Country-lage, and the small reputation it has, is deriv'd from that monastery, the towers whereof in the form of pyramids, are of use to the sea-men for the guiding of sands and shelves in the mouth of the river Thames. For as a certain poet has it in his *Philippeis* :

*Cernit*

*Cernit oloriferum Tamisim sua Doridi a mare  
Flumina miscentem.-----*

See Thames renown'd for Swans, with brackish waves  
Mix her pure stream.-----

The sea hath got all the town, except a very few houses, and the church it self is in great danger to be lost ; for the preserving of which, there are men almost continually employ'd to make good the Walls or Banks.

Now we are come to the isle of Thanet ; which is divided from the continent by the small chanel of the the river *Stour*, call'd by *Bece Ham*, and made up of two different rivers in that woody tract nam'd the Weald ; near one of which, stands Hothfield, a seat of the earl of Thanet. As soon as the *Stour* gets into one chanel, it visits Ashford and Wy, noted market-towns, but small. Both of them had their college of priests ; that at the latter was built by John Kemp archbishop of Canterbury, a native of the place ; Wy had a lofty Steeple in the middle, the Spire whereof was formerly fired by lightning, and burnt down to the Stone-work or tower ; which too, of late, for want of timely repair, fell down of it self, and beat down the greatest part of the Church ; where it now lies in it's ruins. It had also a peculiar Well, into which God was moved to infuse a wonderful virtue by the prayers of a certain Norman monk ; if we may believe Roger Hoveden, whom I would by all means recommend to you, if you are an admirer of miracles. Next the *Stour* leaving East-well, the seat of the earl of Winchelsea, and passing by Olanige or Olantigh, i. e. an eight or island, comes to Chilham, or as others call it Julham, where are the ruins of an ancient castle, that one Fulbert of Dover is said to have built ; which lamely soon ended in an heir female, marry'd to Richard, natural son of king John, to whom she brought this castle and very large possessions. He had two daughters by her, Lora, wife of William Marmion ; and Mabel, wife of David de Strathbolgy earl of Athole in Scotland, and mother to that John earl of Athole, who, having been sentenc'd for repeated treasons (to make his punishment exemplary and publick, in proportion to the greatness of his birth) was hang'd at London upon a gallows fifty foot high, and taken down when half-dead and beheaded ; and the trunk of his body thrown into the fire : a punishment too inhuman, and very rarely practis'd in this Kingdom. Hereupon, his goods being confiscated, king Edward the I. gave this castle with the hundred of Felebergh to Bartholomew de Badilsmer, but he also, within a short time forfeited both for treason ; as I observ'd but just now.

It is a current Opinion among the Inhabitants, that Julius Cæsar encamp'd here in his second expedition against the Britains, and that thence it was call'd Chilham, as if one should say, *Julius's station, or house*; and, if I mistake not, they have truth on their side. For Cæsar himself tells us, that after he had march'd by night twelve miles from the shore, he first encounter'd the Britains upon a river; and, after he had beat them into the woods, that he encamp'd there; where the Britains, having cut down a great number of trees, were posted in a place wonderfully fortify'd both by nature, and art. Now, this place is exactly twelve miles from the sea-coast; nor is there a river between: so that of necessity his first march must have been higher; where he kept his men encamp'd for ten days, till he had refitted his Fleet (which had been shatter'd very much by a Storm,) and got it to shore. Below this town, is a green Barrow, said to be the burying-place of one Jul-Laber many ages since; who, some will tell you, was a Giant, others a Witch. For my own part, imagining all along that there might be something of real antiquity couch'd under that name, I am almost perswaded that *Laberius Durus* the Tribune, slain by the Britains in their march from the camp we spoke of, was buried here; and that from him the Barrow was call'd Jul-Laber.

Below Chilham is Cartham, where, in the year 1668, in the sinking of a Well, was found, about seventeen foot deep, a parcel of *strange and monstrous bones*, together with four *teeth*, perfect and sound, but in a manner petrified and turned into stone: each almost as big as the hand of a man. They are oppos'd by learned and judicious persons, who have seen and considered them, to be the bones of some large Marine animal which had perished there, and that the long Vale of twenty miles or more, through which the river Stour runs, was formerly an arm of the Sea (the river, as they conceive, being named Stour from *Æstuarium*;) and lastly, that the Sea, having by degrees filled up this Vale with Earth, Sand, Ouse, and other matter, did then cease to discharge it self this way, when it broke through the Isthmus between Dover and Calais. Another opinion is, that they are the bones of Elephants; abundance of which were brought over into Britain by the emperor Claudius, who landed near Sandwich, and who therefore might probably come this way on his march to the Thames; the shape and bigness of these teeth agreeing with a late description of the Grinders of an Elephant; and their depth under-ground, being (as is conceived) probably accounted-for, by the continual washings-down of earth from the Hills.

At five miles distance from Chilham aforesaid, the Stour (dividing it's channel) runs with a swift current to *Durovernum*, the chief city of this County, which city it gives the name; for *Durwern* signifies in British a *rapid river*. It is call'd by Ptolemy, instead of *Durovernum*, *Darvernum*; by Bede

and others, *Durobernia*; by the Saxons *Cant-para-byrig*, that is the city of the people of Kent; by Ninnius and the Britains *Caer Kent*, that is the city of Kent; by us, *Canterbury*, and by the latins, *Cantuaria*. A very ancient city it is, and no doubt was famous in the times of the Romans. 'Not very large' (as Malmesbury says) nor very little; famous for it's good situation, for the richness of the neighbouring soil, for the entireness of the walls enclosing it, for it's conveniences of water and wood: and besides all this, by reason of the nearness of the Sea, it has fish in abundance. While the Saxon Heptarchy flourish'd, it was the Capital city of the kingdom of Kent, and the seat of their kings; till king Ethelbert gave it with the royalties to Austin, when consecrated archbishop of the English nation, who here fix'd a See for himself and Successors. And though the Metropolitan-dignity, together with the honour of the *Pall* (this was a bishop's vestment, going over the shoulders, made of a sheep's skin, in memory of him who sought the Lost sheep, and when he had found it, laid on his shoulders; and was embroider'd with Crosses, and taken off the body or coffin of Peter) were settled at *London* by St. Gregory, pope, for the honour of St. Augustine; it was remov'd hither. For Kenulfus king of the Mercians writes thus to pope Leo. 'Because Augustine of blessed memory (who first preach'd the word of God to the English nation, and gloriously presided over the Churches of Saxony in the city of Canterbury) is now dead, and his body bury'd in the Church of St. Peter prince of the Apostles (which his successor Laurentius consecrated:) it seemeth good to all Wise-men of our nation, that that city should have the Metropolitan honour, where his body is bury'd who planted the true faith in those parts. But whether or no the the archiepiscopal See and metropolitanical Dignity of this nation, were settled here by authority of the wise-men, i.e. (to speak agreeably to our present times) by authority of parliament; or by Austin himself, in his lifetime, as others would have it: it is certain, that the popes immediately succeeding, fix'd it so firm to this place, that they decreed an Anathema, and hell-fire, to any one that should presume to remove it. From that time, it is incredible how the place flourish'd, both by the archiepiscopal Dignity, and also a school which Theodore the seventh archbishop founded there. And though it was much shatter'd in the Danish wars, and has been several times almost quite destroy'd by the casualties of fire; yet it has always risen again with greater beauty.

After the coming-in of the Normans, when William Rufus (as it is in the Register of St. Augustine's abby) had given the city of Canterbury entirely to the bishops, which they had formerly held only by courtesy; by the relation which it bore to Religion, and by the bounty of it's prelates (especially of Simon Sudbury,

Sudbury, who repair'd the walls,) it did not only recruit, but on a sudden grow up to such splendour, as even for the beauty of it's private buildings to be equal to any city in Britain; but for the magnificence of it's churches, and their number, to exceed the best of them. Amongst these, there were two peculiarly eminent, Christ's and St. Austin's; both instituted for Benedictine monks. As for Christ-church, it is in the very heart of the city, and rises with so much majesty, that, even at a distance, it imprints upon the mind a sort of Religious veneration. The same Austin that I spoke of before, repair'd this church, which (as Bede tells us) had formerly been built by the Romans that were Christians: dedicated it to Christ, and it became a See for his Successors, which 80 archbishops have now in a continu'd Succession been possess'd of. Of whom, Lanfrank and William Corboyl, when that more ancient fabrick was burnt down, rais'd the *upper* part of the church to that majesty wherein it now appears; as their Successors did the *lower* part: both done at great charges, to which the pious superstition of former ages, very liberally contributed. For numbers of all sorts (of the highest, middle, and lowest ranks,) flock'd hither with large offerings, to visit the Tomb of Thomas Becket archbishop. He was slain in this church by the courtiers, for opposing the king too resolutely and warmly in defence of the liberties of the church; and was register'd on that account by the pope in the kalendar of martyrs, and had divine honours pay'd him, and was so load'd with rich offerings, that gold was one of the meanest treasures of his shrine. *As Erasmus, who was an eye-witness) shin'd, spark'd, glitter'd with many and very large jewels; and even in the whole church appear'd a profuseness above that of kings.* And, at the dissolution, the plate and jewels fill'd two great chests, each whereof required eight men to carry them out of the church. So that the name of Christ (to whom it was dedicated) was almost laid aside, for that of St. Thomas. Nor was it so much fam'd for any other thing, as the memory and burial of this Man; tho' it has some other tombs that might deservedly be boasted of, particularly that of Edward prince of Wales, nam'd the Black (a hero, for his warlike Valour, almost a miracle,) and that potent prince, king Henry the IV. But king Henry VIII. dispers'd all the wealth which had been so long in gathering, and drove out the monks; when whereof, Christ-church has a dean, archdeacon, twelve prebendaries, and six preachers, whose business it is to plant the word of God in the neighbouring places. It had another church below the city to the east, which disputed pre-eminence with this, known by the name of St. Austin's, because St. Austin himself, and king Ethelbert by his advice, founded it to the honour of St. Peter and St. Paul, for a burying-place both of the kings of Kent and archbishops (for it was not then lawful to bury in cities.) It was richly endow'd

endow'd by them; and the abbot there had a Mint granted him, and the privilege of coining Money. (After the Dissolution,) tho' the greatest part of it lay in ruins, and the rest was turn'd into a house for the king, yet any one that beheld it, might from thence easily apprehend what it had been. Austin himself was bury'd in the porch of it, and (as Thomas Spot has told us) with this epigram

*Inclytus Anglorum præsul pius, & decus altum,  
Hic Augustinus requiescit corpore sanctus.*

The kingdom's honour, and the church's grace,  
Here Austin, England's blest Apostle, lays,

But Bede, who is a better authority, assures us, that he had over him a much more ancient inscription,

HIC REQUIESCIT DOMINVS AVGVSTINVS DOROVERNENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPVS PRIMVS, QVI OLIM HVCALEATO GREGORIO ROMANE VRBIS PONTIFICE DIRECTVS, ET A DEO OPERATIONE MIRACVLORVM SVFFVLTVS, ET ETHELBERTHV M REGEM AC GENTEM ILLIVS AB IDOLORVM CVLTU AD FIDEM CHRISTI PERDVXIT, ET COPLETIS IN PACIS DIE BVSOFEICHSVI DECVNCTVS EST SEPTIMO KALENDAS IVNAS, EODEM REGE REGNANTE.

*That is,*

*Here resteth St. Augustine the first archbishop of Canterbury, who long formerly sent hither by the blessed Gregory, bishop of Rome, and supported by the working of miracles; both converted Ethelbert with his kingdom to the worship of idols to the faith of Christ; and also, having fulfilled the duties of his office, dy'd on the 7th of the Kalends of June, in the said King's reign.*

Against the authority of this inscription, and the pretence thereof of great antiquity, it is justly objected; that the stile *Archiepiscopus* could not then be in the Western church: as not then being commonly allowed to Metropolitans (according to Mabillion and others) till about the ninth Century.

With him, there were bury'd in the same porch the six archbishops who immediately succeeded; and, in honour of the whole seven, namely, *Laurentius, Mellitus, Justus, Honorius, Deus-dedit, and Theodosius*, were verses engraven in marble,

SEPTem SUNT ANGLI PRIMATES ET PROTOPATRES,  
 SEPTem RECTORES, SEPTem, COELOQVE TRIONES;  
 SEPTem CISIERANE VITAE, SEPTemQVE LVCERNAE;  
 ET SEPTem PALMAE REGNI, SEPTemQVE CORONAE,  
 SEPTem SVNT STELLAE, QVAS HAEC TENET AREA CEL-  
 LAE.

Seven Patriarchs of England Primates seven,  
 Seven Rectors, and seven Labourers in heaven.  
 Seven Cisterns pure of life, seven Lamps of light,  
 Seven Palms, and of this Realm seven Crowns full bright,  
 Seven Stars are here bestow'd in vault below.

It will not be material, to take notice of another church near this; which (as Dede has it) was built by the Romans, and dedicated to St Martin; and in which (before the coming of Austin) Bertha, of the blood Royal of the Franks, and wife of Ethelbert, was us'd to have divine Service celebrated in the Christian way. As to the castle, which appears on the southside of the city, with it's decay'd bulwarks; since it does not seem to be of any great antiquity, I have nothing memorable to say of it; but only, that it was built by the Normans. Of the dignity of the See of Canterbury, which was formerly exceeding great, I shall only say thus much; that as in former ages, under the Hierarchy of the church of Rome, the archbishops of Canterbury were primates of *all* England, legates of the pope, and (so pope Urban 2. express'd it) as it were patriarchs of the other world; so when the popes authority was thrown off, it was decreed by a synod held in the year 1534, that, laying aside that title, they should be still Primates and Metropolitans of all England. This dignity was so (said, ann. 1607.) lately possess'd by the most reverend Father in God, Whitgift; who, having consecrated his whole life to God, and all his labours to the service of the church, dy'd in the year 1604, extremely lamented by all good men. He was succeeded by Richard Bancroft, a person of singular courage and prudence in all matters relating to the discipline and establishment of the church. (As to it's *present* state, it is a city of great trade, to which the foreigners in it seem to have contributed very much. They are partly *Walloons*, and partly *French*; the first (being driven out of *Flanders*, and other Provinces of the Spanish Netherlands, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, for adhering to the Reformed Religion) came and settled here, and brought along with them the art of weaving silk, into this kingdom. And this is now improv'd to such perfection, that the silks woven at Canterbury, equal, if not exceed, any foreign silk whatsoever; great quantities being sent

sent to London, where it is very much esteem'd by the Merchants. The settlement of the French is but of late date, only since the last persecution under Lewis the 14th, but they are numerous, and very industrious, maintaining their own poor, and living frugally. In the publick Service, they join with the *Walloons*, who have a large place allow'd them near the cathedral; and these, together, make a very great Congregation. Canterbury is fifty one degrees, sixteen minutes in latitude; and twenty four degrees, fifty one minutes in longitude.

The *Stour*, having gather'd it's waters into one chanel, runs by *Hackington*, where *Lora* countess of *Leicester*, a very honourable lady in her time, quitting the pleasures of the world, sequester'd her self from all commerce with it, and devoted her whole life to the service of God. At which time, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, begun a church in this place to the honour of St. Stephen, and of Thomas of Canterbury; but, the authority of the pope prohibiting it, for fear it should tend to the prejudice of the monks of Canterbury, he let the design fall. However, from that time the place has kept the name of St. Stephen's; and Sir Roger *Manwood* (knight, chief baron of the Exchequer, a person of great knowledge in our common law (to whose munificence the poor inhabitants are very much indebted,) was, (so said, ann. 1607.) lately it's greatest ornament; nor was, his son, Sir *Peter Manwood* (knight of the Bath) a less honour to it, whom I could not but mention with this respect, since he was so eminent an encourager of virtue, learning, and learned men. From hence, the *Stour*, by *Fordick* (which in *Demodocus*-book is call'd *the little burrough of Forewich*) famous for it's excellent trout; passes on to *Sturemouth*, where it divides it's waters into two chanel; and, leaving that name, is call'd *Wantsume*, and makes the isle of *Tanet* on the west and south-sides, which on the other parts is wash'd by the sea. Solinus call'd this *Athanaton*, and in some copies *Thanaton*; the Britains *Inis Rubin*, (as *Aster* witnesses,) possibly for *Rhutupin*, from the city *Rhutupium* hard by; the Saxons, *Tanet* and *Tanetleant*; and we, *Tanet*. The soil is white chalk, and very fruitful in corn and grass; it is eight miles in length, and four in breadth; and was reckon'd formerly to have some six hundred families in it; upon which, it is corruptly read in Bede, *millurium sexcentorum*, i.e. six hundred miles, instead of *familiarum sexcentarum*, six hundred families. As to what Solinus observes, that there are no snakes in this island, and that earth carry'd from hence kills them; Experience has discover'd it to be an error. So that that etymology *apo tau thanatau*, from the death of serpents, falls to the ground. Here was the first landing of the Saxons; here they first settled, by the permission of Vortegern; here was their place of refuge; and here it was, that Guortimer the Britain gave them that bloody

defeat,

defeat, when at the *Lapis tituli* (for so Ninnius calls it, as we, almost in the same sense, *Stonar*; and it appears to have been a Harbour,) he oblig'd them to make a hasty and disorderly retreat to their Pinnaces, or little Boats. (The only Objection against this analogy between *Lapis Tituli* and *Stonar*, is, that in the same ancient Records it is written, not *Stonar*; but *Stanore*; which writing, however, shews it to have a landing-place, as the same termination doth in *Cerdicesfore*, *Cymenesfore*, and other harbours.) In this place (as the same author tells) Guortimer commanded them to bury him, as a means to curb the insolence of the Saxons: like *Scipio Africanus*, who order'd his tomb to be so contriv'd, as to look towards Africa; thinking, that even the sight of it would cast a terror upon the Carthaginians. (Mr Somner, and after him the lord bishop of Worcester, seem rather inclin'd, for some resemblance of the name, and the reasons following, to place this at Folkstone or *Lapis populi*; the present *Stonar* not being *supra ripam Gallici maris* (upon the bank of the French sea) as *Ninnius* describes his *Lapis tituli* to be; nor standing high, but in a low place, apt to be overflow'd, and therefore unfit for erecting a conspicuous monument, that was design'd to strike a terror at a distance; both which are more agreeable to *Folkstone*: and lastly, because *Ninnius* is not express, that *Lapis tituli* was in *Tanet*, as he is concerning three other battles before: whence they conclude (and perhaps rightly) that had it been in *Tanet*, he would have told us so, as he did in the rest; which yet, being a question too intricate to be debated here is wholly left to the decision of the Reader. It was also in this island, at *Whippidfleet* (so call'd from *Wipped* a Saxon slain here,) that Hengist routed the Britains, after they were almost worn out with a long course of Engagements; and yet a defeat here (unless it may be an objection against fixing *Whippedfleet* in this place,) makes it look, as if the Saxons had been almost driven out of the Nation again: whereas they defeated the Britains in many battles just before, and driven them out of Kent, as is evident from the Saxon chronicle. Many years after, Austin landed in this island, to whose blessing the credulous priests ascrib'd the fruitfulness of it; and Gotcelin, a monk, cries out, *Tanet, a land happy in singleness, but most of all happy for it's affording reception to so many guests who brought God along with them, or rather, to so many citizens of heaven.* Osbert the eighth king of Kent, to appease the lady *Domneua*, whom he had formerly very much injur'd, granted her a fair estate here, (as much as a hand should run over at one course, which amounted to no less than forty plough-lands, about a third part of the island; as appears by the Map of the Monasticon, and the course delineated in it,) upon which she built a priory for seventy Virgins: Mildred was prioress there; who for her sanctity was calender'd among the Saints. The kings of Kent were very liberal to it,

especially Withred, who (to show the custom of that age, from this particular Donation) in order to complete his Grant, laid a turf of the ground upon the holy altar. Afterwards, this island was so harass'd by the ravaging Danes (who by all kinds of cruelty polluted this monastery of D.) that it did not recover, before the settlement of the Normans.

Nor must I here omit the mention of a thing very much to the notice of the inhabitants, those especially who live near the roads or harbours of Margate, Ramsgate, and Broadstear: namely, That they are exceeding industrious; and as it were Amphibious creatures, and get their living both by sea and land: they in both elements are both fishers and ploughmen, both husbandmen and mariners, and the self same hand that holds the plough, steers the ship. According to the several seasons, they make nets, fish for Cod, Herring, Mackerel, &c. go to sea themselves, and export their own commodities. And those very men also dung their ground, plough, sow, harrow, reap, inne; being quick and active in both employments: and so, the course of their Labours runs round. And when there happen any shipwracks, as there do here now and then (for those shallows and shelves so much dreaded by sea-men, lie over-against it; namely, the Godwin, of which in its proper place among the islands, the Brakes, the Four-foot, the Whitdick, &c.) they are extremely industrious to save the Lading. Of late years, this island hath been advanced to the honour of an earldom; the title of earl of Thanet, being deservedly given to sir Nicholas Tufton, baron of Tufton in Com. Suffex, (4 Car. I.) who dying 30th of June, An. 1632, was succeeded by his eldest surviving son John, who, by his wife Margaret, eldest daughter and coheir of Richard earl of Dorset, having six sons, Nicholas, John, Richard, Thomas, Sackville, and George, and dying May 7th 1664, hath been already succeeded by four of them; his fourth son Thomas, a person of great honour and vertue, and most exemplary charity, being now earl of Thanet.

On the south-side of the mouth of Wantsum, (which they imagine has chang'd its chanel) and over-against the island, was a city, call'd by Ptolemy *Rhutupia*; by Tacitus *Portus Rutulensis*, if B. Rhenanus's conjecture hold good; by Antoninus *Rhitupis portus*; by Ammianus *Rhutupia statio*; by Osius the port and city of *Rhutubus*; by the Saxons (according to Bede) *Rapetaster*, and by others *Rutimuth*; by Alired of Beverley *Richburg*; and at this day *Richborough*: Thus has time sported in varying one and the same name. But whether *Rhutupia* was the same with *Portus Rutulensis*, *Rutupia statio*, or the old *Rutimuth*, is (I confess) a question among the learned. Mr. Somner, it is plain, would have them to be two places, contrary to the opinion of Leland, Lambard, and others; where in the general he may be right; but it is by no means probable, that our *Portus Rutupensis* was *Sandwich*.

but rather *Stonar*, which he himself allows to have been an ancient Port. *Sandwich* indeed lies well-nigh as near to the old *Rutupium*, as *Stonar* does, and consequently might as deservedly have assum'd the name of *Portus Rutupensis*, as *Stonar* could, had it had the same conveniencies in point of situation for such a purpose, that *Stonar* once had; for this, evidently, was the road where the ships lay, that came *ad urbem Rutupiae*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, which was a little mile higher in the country: just as *Leith* in Scotland is the port to *Edinburgh*, and *Topsham* in England to *Exeter*. And this too was afterwards the *Lundenwic*, or the port to which all such as traded either to *London* from foreign parts, or from *London* into foreign parts, had their chief resort. What the original of the name might be, is not certainly agreed on. But since *Sandwich* and *Sandibay*, places near this, (if there was the port) have their name from *Sand*, and *Rhyd* 'Tusfith in British signifies a Sandy Ford; I would willingly derive it from thence. The city was perch'd out along the descent of a hill; and there was a tower upon it a high ground, that over-look'd the Sea: which now the sands have so entirely extended, that it scarce comes within a mile of the place. Under the government of the Romans, it was exceeding famous. From hence they commonly set sail out of Britain for the continent, and here the Roman fleets arriv'd. *Lupicinus*, who was sent over into Britain by *Constantius*, to stop the excursions of the Scots and Picts, landed here the *Herulian*, the *Batavian*, and the *Mælian* Regiments. And *Theodosius*, father of *Theodosius* the emperor (to whom, as *Symmachus* tells us, the Senate decreed statues on horse-back for having quieted Britain) came to land here with his *Herculii*, *Jovii*, *Clavii*, *Fidentes* (which were so many Cohorts of the Romans.) Afterwards, when the Saxon pirates stop'd up all trade by sea, and infested our coasts with frequent robberies; the second Legion, call'd *Augusta*, which had been brought out of Germany by the emperor *Claudius*, and resided for many years at the *Isca Silurum* in Wales, was remov'd hither, and had here a commander of it's own under the Count of the Saxon shore. Which office was first born by that *Clemens Maximus*, who, after he was saluted emperor of the soldiery in Britain, slew *Gratian*, and was himself afterwards slain by *Theodosius* at *Aquileia*. For *Ausonius*, in his verses concerning *Aquileia*, calls *Rbutupium Latronem*, i. e. the *Rhutupian* robber:

*Maximus armigeri quondam sub nomine lixæ.  
Felix quæ tanti spectatrix læta triumphæ,  
Fudisti Ausonio Rbutupium Marte latronem.*

Vile *Maximus*, at first a knapsack rogue.  
O happy you who all the triumph view'd  
And the *Rbutupian* thief with Roman arms subdu'd!

There was also another President of *Rbutupia*, *Flavius Sanctus*, whose memory the same poet has preserv'd in his *Parentalia*, speaking thus of him.

*Militiam nullo qui turbine sedulus egit,  
Præside lætatus quo \* Rbutupinus agar.*

\* Some are of opinion, that *Rbutupinus* in this place signifies all Britain.

Ausonius likewise bestows an elegy upon his uncle *Claudius Contentus*, who had a great stock of money at usury among the Britains, and mightily increas'd the principal by interest; but, being cut off by death, left it all to foreigners, and was bury'd here.

*Et patruos Elegeia meos reminiscere cantus,  
Contentum, tellus quem Rbutupina tegit.*

And let my uncle grace the mournful sound,  
*Contentus*, buried in *Rbutupian* ground.

This *Rbutupia* flourish'd likewise after the coming-in of the Saxons. For Authors tell us, it was the palace of Ethelbert king of Kent; and Bede honours it with the name of a City. But from that time forward, it decay'd, not is it so much as mention'd by any writer, except *Alfred of Beverley*, who has told us how Alcher with his Kentish-men routed the Danes, then encumber'd with the spoil, about this place; call'd at that time Rieberge. But now, age has eras'd the very tracks of it; and to teach us that cities die as well as men, it is at this day (a corn-field, wherein, when the corn is grown up, one may observe the draughts of the streets crossing one another,) where they have gone, the corner is thinner, and such *crossings* they commonly call there, St. Augustine's cross. Nothing now remains, but some ruinous walls of a square tower, cemented with a sort of sand, extremely binding. One would imagin this had been the Acropolis; it looks down from so great a height upon the wet plains of *Thanet*, which the Ocean, while drawing it self by little and little, has quite forsaken. But the plot of the city, now plough'd, has often cast-up the marks of it's antiquity; gold and silver coins of the Roman; and shews its daughter a little below, call'd from the Sand, by the Saxons *Sondric*, and by us Sandwich. This is one

the Cinque-ports; fenc'd on the north and west-sides with walls: on the rest, with a rampire, a river, and a ditch. It is an ancient Town; being mention'd (says Somner) in one of the Chartularies of the church of Canterbury in the year 979. But the Saxon Chronicle tells us, that above a hundred years before, Æthelstan king of kent, and a certain duke call'd Ealder, overthrew the Danes in a Sea-fight at *Sonedric* in kent; from which time it grew greater and greater, upon the decay of Richborough and Stonar, till the days of Edward the Confessor; when, at the first institution of the Cinque-ports which now are, it was thought fitter to be esteem'd one of the five, than Stonar then was. Since when, it has still retain'd that title, being the second port in order, and has always been esteem'd a town of trade and repute. As it formerly felt the fury of the Danes, so did in the (so said, ann. 1607.) last age the fire of the French. Now, it is pretty populous; though the haven (by reason of the sands heap'd in, and of that great ship of pope Paul the fourth's sunk in the very chanel) has not depth enough to carry vessels of the larger sort. Edward Montague, having gotten the sole command of the English fleet in the late Usurpation, with singular prudence so wrought upon the seamen, that they peaceably deliver'd up the whole fleet to king Charles the II; for which signal service he was (July 12. 13 Car. II.) advanc'd to the honours of lord Mountague of St. Neotes, viscount Hinchbrook, and earl of Sandwich; who, dying at Sea the 28th of May 1672, was succeeded in his honours by his eldest son Edward, who is now earl of Sandwich. Not far from hence, is Wingham, which hath lately been honoured, by giving the title of baron to the right honourable the lord Cowper, who, for his great eloquence, wisdom and knowledge in the laws, was also advanced to the honour of lord chancellor of Great Britain (being the first, who bore that high office, after the union of the two kingdoms;) and who hath since been advanced by king George to the higher titles of viscount Fordwiche, and earl Cowper.

Below *Rbutupia*, Ptolomy places the promontory *Cantium*, as the utmost tip of this corner: read corruptly in some copies, *Nucantium*, and *Acan-*  
*um*; call'd by Diodorus *Carion*, and by us at this day, the Fore-land. Notwithstanding which, the whole shore hereabouts is called by the poets the Rbutupian shore, from *Rbutupia*. Agreeable to which, is that of Juvenal where he Satyrically inveighs against *Curtius Montanus*, a nice delicate picture,) concerning the oysters carry'd to Rome from this shore.

-----*nulli major fuit usus edendi*  
*Tempestate mea, Circæis nata forent, an*  
*Lucrinum ad saxum, Rbutupinove idita fundo*  
*Ostrea, callebat primo dependere morsu.*

The exquisitest palate in my time.  
 He, whether Circe's rocks his oysters bore,  
 Or Lucrine lake, or the Rhutupian shore,  
 Knew at first taste : nay, at first look could tell  
 A crab or lobster's country by the shell :

And Lucan :

*Aut vaga cum Thetis, Rhutupinaque litora fervent*

Or when Rhutupian billows beat the shore.

From the promontory *Cantium*, the shore, running southward for some miles, is indented with the risings of several hills. But when it comes to Sandon (i. e. a sandy hill) and Deale, two neighbouring castles built by King Henry VIII, within the memory of (so said ann. 1607.) the last age, it falls, and lies plain and open to the sea. That Cæsar landed at this Deale, called by Ninnius Dole (and in my Judgment, very right ; for so our Britains at this day call a low open plain upon the sea or upon a river,) is the current opinion ; and Ninnius confirm it, when he tells us in his (barbarous tale) that *Cæsar fought a war at Dole*. A table also hung up in Dover-castle, says the same thing ; and Cæsar adds strength to the opinion, when he says that he landed upon an open and plain shore, and he was very warmly received by the Britains. Whereupon, our country-man Leland in his *Cantio*.

*Faciat Dela novas celebris arces,  
 Notus Cæsareis locus trophæis.*

And lofty Dele's proud towers are shown,  
 Where Cæsar's trophies grace the town.

For he (to take the liberty of a short digression) having, as Pomponius Sebinus tells us out of Seneca, subdu'd all by sea and land ; cast his eye towards the Ocean : and, as if the Roman world were not sufficient for him, he began to think of another ; and with a thousand sail of ships (as Athenæus has it out of Cota) enter'd Britain, fifty four years before Christ, and the next year after, a second time : either to revenge himself upon the Britains, for having assisted the Gauls, as Strabo will have it, or to find British pearls, as Suetonius says ; or inflam'd with a desire, as others tell us. He had before-hand inform'd himself of the harbor

passage, not, as Roger Bacon romances, by help of magnifying glasses from the coast of France, and by art perspective; but by Spies, as both himself and Suetonius witness. The day of his landing, was the 26th of August, in the afternoon; as hath been demonstrated by an ingenious person, from all the circumstances of the story, and the ebbing and flowing of the tides. What he did here, himself has given us a pretty large account of, and I already out of him, and out of the lost monuments of Suetonius concerning Scæva, who particularly signaliz'd his valour at Dyrrachium, in the Civil wars; and whom our country-man Joseph, the poet, in those verses of his Antiochis relating to Britain, will have to be of British extraction; tho' I think it is not true.

*Hinc & Scæva satus, pars non obscura tumultus.  
Civilis, Magnum solus qui mole soluta  
Obsedit, meliorque stetit pro Cesare murus.*

Hence mighty *Scæva* too derives his stem,  
*Scæva* in Roman wars no vulgar name.  
He, when he saw the batter'd turret fall,  
Back'd with its ruins, stood himself a wall.  
Unmov'd the vain assaults of Pompey bore,  
A stronger fortress than had been before.

But as to Caesar's actions in this country, learn them from himself, and from what we have said concerning them before. For it has not been my good fortune to converse with that old Britain, whom *M. Aper* (as Quintilian says) saw in this island, and who confess'd that he was in the battle against Caesar when the Britains endeavoured to keep him from landing; and besides, it is not my present design to write a history.

Just upon this shore, are ridges, for a long way together, like so many rampires, which some suppose that the wind has swept up together. But I fancy, it was that cove (or rather station, or a sort of Ship-camp,) which Caesar was ten days and as many nights in making, to draw into shatter'd ships, and so secure them both against storms, and also against the Britains; who made some attempts upon them. For I am told, that the inhabitants call this rampire *Romes-work*, that is, The work of the Romans. And I am rather inclin'd to believe that Caesar landed here, because himself tells us, that seven miles from thence (for so an ancient copy corrected by Fl. Constantinus, a person of consular dignity, read it) the sea was so narrowly pent up between mountains, that one might sling a dart from the hills to the shore. And all along from Deale, a ridge of rocks (call'd by Cicero *Moles magnificæ*, state-  
ly

ly cliffs) abounding with Samphire, in latin *Crythmus* and *Sampetra*, runs for about seven miles to Dover; where it gapes, and opens it self to passengers. And the nature of the place answers Cæsars character of it; as receiving and enclosing the sea between two hills. In this break of that ridge of rocks, lies *Dubris*, mention'd by Antoninus; called in Saxon *Dorpa*, and by us Dover. Darellus tell us out of Eadmer, that the name was given it, from being shut up and hard to come to. For (says he) *because in old times, the sea, making a large harbour in that place, spread it self very wide, they were put under a necessity of shutting it up within closer bounds.* But William Lambard, with a greater show of probability, fetches the name from *Dulvinn*, which in British signifies a *steep place*. The Town, which is seated among rocks, where the harbour it self formerly was, while the sea came up farther, as may be gather'd from the anchors and planks of ships dug-up, is more celebrated for the convenience of its harbour, though it has now but little of that left, and the passage from thence into France; than either neatness, or populoufness. For it is a famous passage; and it was formerly provided by law, that no person going out of the kingdom in pilgrimage, should take shipping at any other place. It is also one of the Cinque-ports, and was formerly bound to find twenty one Ships for the Wars, in the same manner and form as Hailings; of which we spoke of before. On that part lying towards the sea, which is now excluded by the beach, there was a wall, of which there is some part still remaining. It had a church dedicated to St. Martin founded by Wiltred king of Kent; and a house of Knights-templars; nothing of which is now to be seen: it also affords a See to the archbishop of Canterbury's suffragan, who, when the archbishop is taken up with more weighty affairs, has (as often as any suffragan is appointed) the administration of such things as concern Orders, but does not meddle in the business of episcopal jurisdiction. There is a large castle like a little city, with strong fortifications and a great many towers, which, as it were, threatens the sea under it, from a hill, or rather a rock upon the right hand; this Rock is on every side rugged and steep, but towards the sea it rises to a wonderful height. Matthew Paris calls it, The Key and Bar of England. The common people dream of it's being built by Julius Cæsar: and I conclude, that it was really first built by the Romans, from those British bricks in the chapel, which they us'd in their larger sort of buildings. When the Roman empire began to hasten to it's end, a company of the Tungricans, who were reckon'd among the Aids Palatine, were plac'd by them here in garrison; part of whose armour those great arrows seem to have been, which they us'd to shoot out of Engines like large Cross-bows, and which were formerly shown in the castle as miracles; but now, no such thing is to be seen. Between the first coming-in of the Saxons and the last period of their government, I have not met

met with so much is the mention either of this castle or the town, unless it be in some loose papers transcrib'd from a table hung up and kept here; which tell us, that Cæsar, after he had landed at Deale, and had beaten the Britains at Baramdowne (a Plain hard by, very fit to draw up an army in,) began to build Dover-castle; and that Arviragus afterwards fortify'd it against the Romans, and shut up the harbour: and next, that Arthur and his men defeated here I know not what Rebels. However, a little before the coming-in of the Normans, it was look'd on as the great Strength of England; and upon that account, William the Norman, when he had an eye upon the kingdom, took an oath of Harold, that he should deliver into his hands this Castle, with the Well. And, after he had settled matters in London, he thought nothing of greater consequence, than to fortify it, and to assign to his Nobles large possessions in Kent, on condition that they should be in a readiness at all times with a certain number of soldiers for the defence of it; but that service is now redeem'd with certain sums of money yearly. For when Hubert de Burgo was made constable of this castle (these are the words of an ancient writer) *he, considering that it was not for the safety of the castle to have new guards every month, procur'd, by the assent of the king, and of all that held of the castle, that every tenant for one month's guard should pay ten shillings; out of which, certain persons elected and sworn, as well horse as horse as foot, should be maintained, for guarding the castle.* It is reported, that Philip surnam'd Augustus, king of France, when his son Lewis made his attempts upon England, and had taken some cities, should say, *My son has not yet so much as footing in England, if he have not got into his hands the castle of Dover;* looking upon it to be the strongest place in England, and to lie most convenient for France. Upon another rock over-against this, and almost of equal height, there are the remains of some very ancient building. One author, upon what grounds I know not, has call'd it Cæsar's Altar; but John Twine of Canterbury, a learned old man, who in his youth had seen it almost entire, affirm'd to me that it was a Watch-tower, to direct sailors by night-lights; some part whereof is yet remaining, now vulgarly call'd Bredenstone. Such another there was over-against it at Bologne in France, built by the Romans, and repair'd along time after by Charles the Great (as *Regino* tells us, who writes it corruptly *Phanum* for *Pharum*) now call'd by the French Tour'd Order, and by the English, The old man of Bullen. Beneath this rock, within the memory of the last age, the most potent prince king Henry VIII. built a mole or pile (we call it the Peere) wherein ships might ride with greater safety. It was done with much labour, and at infinite charge, by fastening large beams in the sea, then binding them together with iron, and heaping on it great quantities of wood and stone. But the fury and violence of the

sea was quickly too hard for the contrivance of that good prince; and the frame of the work, by the continual beating of the waves, began to decay. For the repair whereof, queen Elizabeth expended great sums of money. And by an act of parliament, lay'd a custom for seven years upon every English vessel that either exported or imported commodities. Here, the lord warden of the cinque ports, since Shipway was antiquated, have been of late sworn; and indeed most of the other business, relating to the ports in general, is done here. Here are all the courts kept, and from hence is the most frequent passage out of England into France, which has render'd it famous throughout the world. It hath been the more so, by having given the title of earl to the right honourable Henry lord Hunsdon viscount Rochfor, who on the 8th of March, 3 Car. I. was advanced to the title of earl of Dover. He, dying about the year 1666, was succeeded by his son John: who dying the year following without issue-male, this title lay extinct, till it was revived by king James II. in the person of the honourable Henry Jermin, Esq; nephew to the right honourable Henry earl of St. Albans, who was created baron of Dover May 13. 1685. 2 Jac. II. And being again extinct, queen Anne conferr'd the title of duke of Dover, together with those of marquiss of Beverley and baron of Rippon, upon his grace James duke of Queensberry; in consideration of his great and eminent Services.

This Coast is parted from the Continent of Europe by a narrow sea; where, some are of opinion, it wrought itself a passage through. Solinus calls it *Fretum Gallicum*, or the *French strait*; Tacitus and Ammianus, *Fretum Oceanum* and *Oceanum fretalem*, the *strait of the Ocean*, and, the *Ocean-strait*. Gratius the poet terms it,

*Freta Morinum dubio refluxentia ponto.*

The narrow seas on Bullen-coast that keep uncertain tides: The Hollanders call it *Dekofden*, from the two promontories; we, *The strait of Calles*; the French, *Pas de Calais*. For this is the place, as a poet of our own time has it,

-----*gemini qua janua ponti  
Faucibus angustis, lateque frementibus undis  
Gallorum, Anglorumque vetat concurrere terras.*

Where the two foaming mouths of boist'rous seas  
Preserve a narrow, but a dreadful space,  
And Britain part from Gaul.-----

*This narrow Sea, as Marcellinus hath truly observ'd, at every tide foeth with terrible waves, and again, in the ebb, is as plain as a field: Betwixt*

two risings of the moon, it flows twice, and ebbs as often. For, at the two times, when the moon mounts to our meridian, and, when it is at the point opposite to it; the sea swells here exceedingly, and a vast body of waters rushes against the shore with such a hideous noise, that the poet had reason enough to say,

----- *Rhutupinaque littora fervent.*

And Rhutup's shore doth boil and bellow.

And D. Paulinus, where he speaks of the tract of the Morini, which he calls the "urmost bound of the world," styles this, "an ocean raging with barbarous waves."

Give me leave to start a question here, not unworthy the search of any learned person, that has a genius, and leisure; Whether in the place where this narrow sea parts Gaul and Britain, there ever was an isthmus, or neck of land, that join'd them, which being afterwards split by the general deluge, or by the breaking in of the waves, or some earthquake, let the sea through? For certainly, no one ought to doubt, but that the face of the earth has been **changed**, as well by the deluge, as by a long succession of ages, and other causes; and that islands, either by earth-quakes, or the retreat of the waters, have been joined to the Continent. That they have likewise, by earth-quakes, and the rushing in of waters, been broke off from the continent, is a point evident beyond dispute from authors of the best credit. Upon which Pythagoras in Ovid,

*Vidi ego quod quondam fuerat solidissima tellus  
Esse fretum; vidi factas ex æquore terras.*

I've seen the ocean flow where lands once stood;  
I've seen firm land where once the ocean flow'd.

For Strabo, inferring things to come from things past, concludes that isthmus's, or necks of land, have been wrought thorough, and will be again. "You see (says Seneca) that whole countries are torn from their places: and what lay hard by, is now beyond sea. You see a separation of cities and nations, as often as part of nature either moves it self, or the winds drive the sea forward; the force whereof, as drawn from the whole, is wonderful. For tho' it rage but in some part, yet it

is of the universal power that it so rages. Thus has the sea rent Spain from the continent of Africa. And by that inundation so much talked of by the best poets, Sicily was cut off from Italy." From whence that of Virgil:

*Hæc loca vi quondam, & vasta convulsa ruina  
(Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas)  
Dissiluisse ferunt, cum protinus utraque tellus  
Una foret, venit medio vi pontus & undis,  
Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit, arvaque & urbes  
Littore diductas angusto interluit æstu.*

These shores long since, as old traditions speak,  
(Such strange disorders powerful time can make)  
With violent fury did asunder break.  
When battering waves collecting all their force,  
Thro' solid land urg'd their impetuous course,  
While towns and fields on either side gave way,  
And left free passage for a narrow sea.

Pliny also has taught us, that Cyprus was broke off from Syria, Eubœa from Bœotia, Besbicus from Bythinia; which before were parts of the continent. But that Britain was so rent from the continent, no one of the ancients has told us; only those verses of Virgil and Claudian (which I have quoted in the very beginning of this work, together with Servius's conjecture, seem to hint so much. Notwithstanding, there are those who think this to be affirmed by the ancients; as, Dominicus Marius Niger, John Twine, a very learned man, and whoever he was that wrested these verses concerning Sicily, to Britain:

——— *Britannia quondam  
Gallorum pars una fuit, sed pontus & æstus  
Mutavere situm, rupit confinia Nereus  
Victor: & abscissos interluit æquore montes.*

Once did the British touch the Gallick shore,  
Till furious waves the cliffs in sunder tore;  
Thus broke, they yielded to the conqu'ring main,  
And Neptune still in triumph rides between.

Of the same opinion were Mr. Somner, and Dr. Wallis.

Since therefore the authority of writers has left us no certain grounds in this matter; learned men, comparing such narrow seas one with another, in order to discover the truth, propose these and the like heads to be observed and examined.

Whether the nature of the soil be the same upon both shores? Which indeed holds good here; for where the sea is narrowest, both coasts rise with high rocks, almost of the same matter and colour; which should imply that they have been broken through.

How broad the narrow sea may be? And the straits here are not much broader, than those of Gibraltar or Sicily, to wit, twenty-four fathoms: so that one would imagine at first sight, that those two tracts were sever'd by the waves, that now beat violently, first on one side, then on the other. For that it was hollowed by earth-quakes, I dare not once imagine or suspect, since this Northern part of the world is very seldom shaken with earth-quakes, and those but inconsiderable.

How deep such straits may be? As that of Sicily does not exceed 80 fathoms, so this of our's scarce exceeds twenty-five fathom; and yet the bottom on both sides of it is much deeper.

How the bottom is, sandy, hilly, or muddy; and whether in several parts of such narrow seas there lie shelves of sand? As for our's, I could learn from the seamen that there any such, except one in the middle of the channel, which, at low water, lay hardly three fathoms deep; and now, no such is either to be heard of, or seen in the charts.

Lastly, Whether there be any place upon either shore, that has its name in the ancient language of the place, from a breach, rent, separation, or the like? as Rhegium, upon the straits of Sicily, is so called from the Greek *reegnumi*, that is, to break, because at that place Italy was broken off from Italy, by the violence of the waters. But I think of none here, unless we may imagine, that Vitfan, upon the coast of France, took that name from Gwith, signifying in British, force or separation. Against which, however two arguments are usually alledged; the first, that the Saxons call this place also *Hwitsand*, which signifies no more than a white sand, discerned as we may suppose from the coast of Kent: the second, that the name, implying a breach, ought in reason to be sought for in the lesser part of the division, which is said properly to be rent from the greater and not the other from that; as the name of Sicily was given to Trinacria, and not to Italy.

They who contend, that Britain remained one continent with France after the general deluge, argue from the wolves, which were formerly common in England, as they are still in Scotland and Ireland. How is it possible, say they, that they should be in islands (since all living creatures, that were not in the ark, were destroyed) unless for a long time after, the whole earth had been one free continued passage, without any islands? St. Augustine employ'd his thoughts about this question and solv'd it thus: "Wolves and other animals may be thought to have got into the islands by swimming; but they must be such as are near (as stags every year swim out of Italy into Sicily for pasture) but there are some at such distance from the continent, that it does not seem possible for any beast to swim to them. If we suppose that men may have caught them, and carried them over, it suits well enough with the delight which they took in hunting; tho' it cannot be denied but they might be carried over by angels, at the express command of God, or at least by his permission. But if they sprang out of the earth according to their first original, when God said, Let the earth bring forth a living soul; it is far more evident, that all kinds were in the ark, not so much for the reparation of the species, as to be a type of the several nations, because of the sacrament of the church; if the earth produced many animals in the islands whither they could not pass." Thus he. Nor can any thing be said upon this subject, more perfect or more nice. Let it be enough for me to have proposed it: the consideration of it I leave to the reader; and he that sees farthest into the truth of this matter, shall have my vote for a person of true quietness and sagacity.

Over-against this place, in the continent, were the Morini sea so called in the ancient language of the Celts, as if one should say maritime people, or dwellers upon the sea-coast. Their country is now called Conte de Guines, and Conte de Bolonois; and had formerly two most noted places, Gesloriacum, and Itium, from which last was the most convenient passage out of Gaule into Britain, as Caesar testifies. Most are of opinion, that it is the same with Calais; but Holinshead, the great and learned chancellor of France, a very excellent antiquary, affirms Calais not to be an ancient town; and that it was only a small village, such as the French call Burgado's, till Philip earl of Logne walled it round, not many years before it was taken by the English. Nor do we read, that before those times any one set sail thence into Britain. For which reason, I think Itium is to be sought for in another place, namely, a little lower near Blackness, at V

by us called Whitsan, a word which seems to carry in it something of *litum*. For, that this was the common port from our island, and the usual place also of setting sail hither from that kingdom, may be easily observed from our histories. Insomuch that Ludovicus Junior, king of France, when he came in pilgrimage to Thomas of Canterbury, humbly requested of that saint, by way of intercession, that none might be shipwreck'd between Vitian and Dover; implying, that, then, this was the most commodious passage to and again: and indeed, this strait is not any where more contracted. Tho' at the same time we must imagine, that the sea-men did not steer their course only by the shortest roads, but that they had an eye to the commodiousness of the harbours on both coasts. So, tho' the sea be narrowest between Blackness in France and the Nefle in England, yet the passage now is between Dover and Calais; as in former ages, before Vitian was stopp'd up, it was between that and Dover; and before, between Rhutupia and Gessoriacum, from whence Claudius the emperor, and other generals whom I have elsewhere mentioned, set sail into Britain. Pliny seems to call Gessoriacum, the British haven of the Morini, possibly from their setting sail thence for Britain; and Ptolemy (in whom it is thought by some to have crept into the place of *litum*) Gessoriacum Navale, the harbour or dock, Gessoriacum; in which sense also the Britains call it Bowling long; and a late \* learned author doubts not to affirm, (nay, seems to have abundantly proved) that Gessoriacum or Bologne was the very place from whence *Cæsar* set sail. For, that Gessoriacum was the sea-port town called by Ammianus Bononia, by the French Bologne, by the Dutch Beunen, and by us Bolen, I dare positively affirm, against Boetius the Scotch writer, and Turnebus; depending upon the authority of Rhenanus, who had the sight of an old military table, wherein it was written "Gessoriacum quod nunc Bononia," i.e. Gessoriacum, which is now Bononia; as also upon the course of the Itinerary, which exactly answers the distance that Antoninus has made between the Ambiani or Amiens, and Gessoriacum. But what convinces me beyond all the rest, is, that the pirates in the faction of Carausius, which, by one panegyrick (spoken to Constantius the emperor) are said to be taken and shut up within the walls of Gessoriacum, are, in another (spoken to Constantine the Great, his son) affirmed to have been routed at Bononia: so that Bononia and Gessoriacum must of necessity be one and

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\* Somner, *de Partu Ictio.*

the same town; and the older name of these two seems to have grown into disuse about that time. For we must not suppose, that authors of that note could possibly make a mistake about the place, before so great princes, and when the matter was so fresh in memory. But what were I to do with France? Those places, I confess, I mentioned the more willingly, because the valour of our ancestors has been often glorified upon that coast, particularly in their taking of Calais and Brest from the French; the latter whereof they surrender'd, after eight years, for a certain sum of money, at the request of that prince; but held it first, in spite of them, for the space of 212 years. Now let us return to Britain.

From Dover, the chalky rocks as it were hanging one by another, run in a continued ridge for five miles together, as far as Folkestone; which appears to have been an ancient town, from the Roman coins daily found in it; but what name it had in those times, is uncertain. It was probably one of those towers, which the Romans (under Theodosius the younger) as Gildas tells us, "bailt upon the south-coast of Britain, at certain distances," to guard it against the Saxons. In the time of the Saxons, it was famous on the account of religion, from a nunnery built there by Eanswida, daughter of Eadbald king of Kent. Now it is nothing but a little village, the sea having worn away the greatest part of it. It was, notwithstanding, a barony of the family De Abrincis, from whom it came to Hamon de Crevequer, and by his daughter to John of Sandwich, whose grandchild Juliana, by his son John, brought the same, as a portion, to John de Segrave. It hath been observed of some hills in this neighbourhood of Folkestone, that they have visibly sunk and grown lower, within the memory of man.

From hence, the shore turning westward, has Saltwood near it, once a castle of the archbishops of Canterbury, enlarged by William Courteney, archbishop of that see; and Ostenhanger, where Edward born Poinings, who had many bastard-children, began a stately house. At four miles distance is Hith, one of the Cinque-ports, from whence it had that name; *hith* in Saxon signifying a port or station: tho' at present it can hardly answer the name, by reason of the lands heaped in there, which have shut cut the sea to a great distance from it. Nor is it very long since its first rise, dating it from the decay of West-hythe which is a little town hard by to the west, and was a harbour, till in the memory

of our grandfathers the sea retired from it. But both Hythe and Well-  
 the owe their original to Lime, a little village adjoining, and for-  
 merly a very famous port, before it was shut up with sands cast in by the  
 sea. Antoninus and the Notitia call it Portus Lemanis; Ptolemy *Li-*  
*men*; which being what we call a significative word, in Greek, the li-  
 brarians, to supply a seeming defect, writ it *Kainos limen*, and so the  
 Latin interpreters have translated it Novus Portus, i. e. the new haven;  
 whereas the name of the place was Limen or Leman, as it is at this day  
 time. Here the captain of the company of Turnacenses had his station,  
 under the count of the Saxon shore: and from hence to Canterbury  
 there is a pav'd military way, which you may easily discern to have been  
 work of the Romans; as is also a castle hard by called Stutfall, which  
 included ten acres upon the descent of a hill; and the remains of the  
 walls, built of British bricks and flints, are so closely cemented with a  
 mortar of lime, sand, and pebles, that they still bear up against time.  
 This, Mr. Somner \* allows to have been a Roman fort, but not the old  
 Portus Lemanis; since that lies, according to all the copies of the Iti-  
 nary, sixteen miles from Canterbury; whereas Stutfall is but fourteen,  
 out the same distance (says he) that Dover is from it: Wherefore, he  
 either supposes, that there was a mistake of the librarians in setting a  
 for an X, and that the distance indeed should have been XXI, which  
 is it about Romney, the place that he would have to be the true Portus  
 Lemanis. But this conjecture puts it more out of distance than before;  
 and it is a much easier mistake in the librarians to transpose a V and an  
 which being supposed, sets it in a true distance again, according to  
 Mr. Somner himself, viz. at XIV, and no more. Or (to admit of no  
 mistake in the librarians at all) if we set Lyme at the same distance from  
 Canterbury that Dover is, which is fifteen miles, and the lower side of  
 Stutfall castle, where the port must be, near a mile below Lyme, as really  
 is (allowing too, that the Roman miles are somewhat less than the  
 English;) we shall bring it again in true distance at XVI miles, without  
 carrying it to Romney; which, in all probability, in those days lay  
 under water, at least in spring-tides: or if not so, the marsh certainly  
 betwixt Stutfall and Romney, which they could never pass, nor  
 they ever attempt it: for we find the Roman way ends here, as it  
 necessary it should, since it could not be carried further through a  
 marsh, or rather sea, eight miles together; for so far it is from hence to

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\* Ports and Forts, p. 38.

the town of Romney. Tho' Hythe is not a port at this day, it retains a considerable badge of its ancient glory; for here, at a place called Shipway, the warden of the Cinque-ports takes a solemn oath, when he enters upon his office; and here also, on certain days, controversies were used to be decided between the inhabitants of the ports.

Some have been of opinion, that a large river did once empty itself into the sea at this place, because a writer or two has mentioned the "river Lemanus," and "the mouth of Lemanis," where the Danish fleet arrived in the year of our Lord 892. But I believe they are mistaken in the description of the place, both because here is no such thing as a river, save a little one that presently dies; and also because Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon, an author of great credit, tells us, that the fleet arrived at the Portus Lemanis; without one word of the river. Unless any one think (as, for my part, I cannot) that the river Rother, which runs into the sea below Rhy, had its chanel this way, and changed it by little and little, when that champain tract, Rumney-marsh, grew into firm land. For this plain level (which from Lemanis contains fourteen miles in length, and eight in breadth, and has two towns, nineteen parishes, and about forty-four thousand two hundred acres of land, very fruitful, and exceeding good for the fattening of cattle) has by degrees been joined by the sea to the land. Upon which, I may as well call "the gift of the sea," as Herodotus has called Egypt "the gift of the river Nile," and as a very learned person [Peter Naenius] has styled the pastures of Holland, the gifts of the north wind and the Rhine. For the sea, to make amends for what it has swallowed up in other parts of the coast, has restored it here; either by retiring, or by bringing in a new sort of substance from time to time; by which it comes to pass, that for places which \* within the memory of our grandfathers stood upon the sea-shore, are now a mile or two from it. How fruitful the soil is, which herds of cattle it feeds that are sent hither from the remotest parts of England to be fatted, and with what art they raise walls to fence against the incursions of the sea; are things which one can hardly believe that has not seen them. For the better government of it king Edward IV. made it a corporation, consisting of a baiiff, jurates, and a common-council. In the Saxon times, the inhabitants of it were called *Merse-ware*, i. e. Marsh or Fen-men; the signification of which name agrees exactly to the nature of the soil. And, for my part, I do

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\* So said, *ann.* 1607.

understand Æthelwerd (that ancient writer) when he tells us, "That Æthelwulf, king of the Mercians, destroyed Ætne, and the country call'd Ætne-warum;" and, in another place, "That Herbythus, a captain, was slain by the Danes, in a place call'd Me-c-wa-um;" unless he means this marshy little tract. Romney, or Remeney, and formerly Promental (which some conclude from the name to have been a work of the Romans) is the chief town of these parts, and one of the Cinque-ports, having Old-Romney and Lid as members of it; which (in the above-mentioned) are bound jointly to fit out five ships for the king. It is seated upon a high hill of gravel and sand, and on the east side of it had a pretty large harbour (guarded against most of the winds) before the sea retired from it. "The inhabitants (as Dome day book has it) on account of their sea-service, were exempt from all customs, except robbery, breach of the peace, and Foristell." And about that time it was at its height; for it was divided into twelve wards; and had five parish-churches, and a priory, and an hospital for the sick. But in the reign of Edward I. when the sea (driven forward by the violence of the winds) overflow'd this tract, and for a great while together destroyed men, cattle, and houses, threw down Promhill, a little populous village, and removed the Rother (which formerly emptied itself here into the sea) out of its chanel, stopping up its mouth, and opening it a nearer passage into the sea by Rhie; then it began by little and little to forsake this town, which has been decaying ever since, and has fallen much from its ancient populousness and greatness.

Below this, the land shoots forth a long way to the east (we call it the nose, as resembling a nose) upon which stands Lid, a pretty populous town, whither the inhabitants of Promhill betook themselves after that foundation. And in the very utmost promontory, called Denge-nessle, there is nothing but beech and pebbles; there grow holme-trees with sharp prickly leaves, and always green, like a little low wood, for a great way together and more. Among those pebbles, near Stone-end, is a heap of large stones, which the neighbouring people call the monument of St. Crispin and St. Crispinian, who, they say, were cast upon this shore by shipwreck, and called from hence into their heavenly country. From hence, the shore turning its course, goes directly westward; and a sort of pease which grow in great plenty and naturally, amongst

the town of Romney. The Hythe is not a port at this day, it retains a considerable badge of its ancient glory; for here, at a place called Shipway, the warden of the Cinque-ports takes a solemn oath, when he enters upon his office; and here also, on certain days, controversies were used to be decided between the inhabitants of the ports.

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Understand Æthelwerd (that ancient writer) when he tells us, "That Æthelwulf, king of the Mercians, destroyed Kent, and the country call'd Merc-warum;" and, in another place, "That Herbythus, a captain, was slain by the Danes, in a place call'd Merc-warum;" unless he means this marshy little tract. Romney, or Remeney, and formerly Romanal (which some conclude from the name to have been a work of the Romans) is the chief town of these parts, and one of the Cinque-ports, having Old-Romney and Lid as members of it; which (in the sense above-mentioned) are bound jointly to fit out five ships for the king. It is seated upon a high hill of gravel and sand, and on the west side of it had a pretty large harbour (guarded against most of the winds) before the sea retired from it. "The inhabitants (as Dome day book has it) on account of their sea-service, were exempt from all tithes, except robbery, breach of the peace, and Forcittell." And about that time it was at its height; for it was divided into twelve wards; and had five parish-churches, and a priory, and an hospital for the sick. But in the reign of Edward I. when the sea (driven forward by the violence of the winds) overflow'd this tract, and for a great way together destroyed men, cattle, and houses, threw down Promhill, a little populous village, and removed the Rother (which formerly emptied itself here into the sea) out of its chanel, stopping up its mouth, and opening it a nearer passage into the sea by Rhie; then it began by little and little to forsake this town, which has been decaying ever since, and has fallen much from its ancient populousness and greatness.

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the pebbles, in large bunches like grapes, in taste differing very little from field-pease; and so it runs so ward to the mouth of the Rother, which for some space is the boundary between Kent and Sussex.

The course of this river, as to the Sussex side, we have briefly spoken to before. On the Kent side it has Newenden, which, I am almost persuaded, was the haven so long sought for, call'd by the Normans *Andreda*, by the Britains *Caer Andred*, and by the Saxons *Andredscæfer*. First, because the inhabitants affirm it to have been a town and harbour of very great antiquity; next, from its situation by the wood *Andredwald*, to which it gave the name; and lastly, because the Saxons seem to have call'd it *Britenden*, i. e. a valley of the Britains (as they also call'd *Segontium*, of which before) from whence *Selbritenden* is the name of the whole hundred adjoining. The Romans, to defend this coast against the Saxon pirates, plac'd here a band of the *Abules*, with their captain. Afterwards, it was quite destroyed by the fury of the Saxons. For *Hengist* having a design to drive the Britains entirely out of Kent, and finding it expedient to strengthen his party by fresh supplies, sent for *Ætha* out of Germany with great numbers of Saxons. Then, making a vigorous assault upon this *Anderida*, the Britains, who lay in ambuscade in the next wood, disturb'd him to such a degree, that when, at last (after much bloodshed on both sides) he by dividing his force had defeated the Britains in the woods, and at the same time had taken the town, his barbarous heart was so enflamed with revenge, that he put the inhabitants to the sword, and demolished the place. "For many ages after (as *Huntingdon* tells us) there appear'd nothing but ruins;" till under *Edward I.* the friars *Carmelites*, just come from mount *Carmel* in *Palestine*, and, desiring solitary places above all others, had a little monastery built here at the charge of *Thomas Abbot*, upon which a town presently sprung up, and, with respect to the one that had been demolished, began to be call'd *Newenden*, i. e. a new town in a valley. Lower down, the river *Rother* divides its waters, and furrounds *Oxney*, an island abounding with grass: and near its mouth has *Apuldore* where that pestilent rout of Danish and Norman pirates after they had been preying upon the French coasts under *Hasting* their commander, landed with large spoils, and built a castle; but *King Alfred*, by his great courage, forced them to accept conditions of peace. This, in the time of the Saxons, an. 894, flood at the mouth of the river *Limene*, as their *Chronicle* of that date tells us, was so great a plain, that *Normey*, or at least *Walland-marsh*, was then a sea; for we never fix the mouth of a river, but at its entrance into the sea.

# KENT.

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now if the sea came so lately as in the year 894, to the town of Aple-  
dore, in all probability five hundred years before, in the Romans time,  
it might come as far as Newenden, the place of the city and castle of  
Anderida, erected here by the Romans to repel the Saxon revers; the  
sea here, in all ages, having retired by degrees. Here also, Mr. Selden  
series it; but Mr. Somner\* rather inclines to believe, that either  
Hailings or Pemsey, on the coast of Suffex, must have been the old An-  
derida; founding his opinion upon what Gildas says concerning these  
ports and forts, viz. that they were placed "in littore oceani ad me-  
ridiem." But I suppose, this ought to be understood in a large sense,  
every thing being to be taken for sea, whither such vessels could come,  
as they had in those days; in which sense, no doubt, Newenden might  
be accounted a sea-town, and liable to such pirates as the Saxons were,  
as well as either Pemsey or Hailings.

Near, in a woody tract, are Cranbroke, Tenderden, Tenenden, and  
other neighbouring towns, wherein the cloath-trade very much flourish'd  
since the time of Edward III. who, in the tenth year of his reign, invited  
some of the Flemings into England, by promises of large rewards, and  
grants of several immunities, to teach the English the cloath-manu-  
facture, which is now become one of the pillars of the kingdom. But  
the cloathing-trade in Kent is very much decayed.

To reckon up the earls of Kent in their order (omitting Godwin and  
others, under the Saxons, who were not hereditary, but only officia-  
ry) Odo, brother by the mother's side to William the Conqueror, is  
the first earl of Kent that we meet with, of Norman extraction. He was  
at the same time bishop of Baieux; and was a person of a wicked and  
fierce temper, always bent upon innovations in the state. Where-  
upon, after a great rebellion that he had raised, his nephew William  
deprived him of his whole estate and dignity, in England. After-  
wards, when Stephen had usurped the crown, and endeavoured to win  
over persons of courage and conduct to his party, he conferr'd that he-  
ritage upon William of Ipres, a Fleming; who, being (as Fitz-Stephen  
calls him) an insupportable burden to Kent, was forced by king Henry  
the second, to march off, with tears in his eyes. Henry the second's  
daughter (whom his father had crowned king) having a design to  
raise a rebellion against his father, did, upon the same account, give the  
earldom of Kent to Philip earl of Flander; but he was earl of Kent no fur-

\* Ports and Forts, p. 104, 105.

ther, than by bare title and promise. For, as Gervasius Dorobernensis has it, "Philip earl of Flanders promised his utmost assistance to the young king, binding himself to homage, by oath. In return for his services, the king promised him revenues of a thousand pound, with the county of Kent; as also the castle of Rochester, with the castle of Dover." Not long after, Hubert de Burgo, who had deserved singularly well of the kingdom, was for his good services advanced to the same honour by king Henry III. He was an entire lover of his country, and, amidst the storms of adversity, discharged all the duties that it could demand from the best of subjects. But he dy'd, divested of his honour; and the title slept, till the reign of Edward II. Edward bestowed it upon his younger brother Edmund of Woodstock, who, being tutor to his nephew king Edward III. fell undeservedly under the lash of envy, and lost his head. The crime was, that he openly professed his affection to his deposed brother, and after he was murder'd (knowing nothing of it) endeavour'd to rescue him out of prison; but his two sons, Edmund and John, enjoyed the honour successively: and both dying without issue, it was carried by their sister (for her beauty call'd The fair maid of Kent) to the family of the Hollands, knights. For Thomas Holland her husband was stiled earl of Kent, and was succeeded in that honour by Thomas his son, who dy'd in the 20th year of Richard II. His two sons were successively earls of this place; Thomas, who was created Duke of Surrey, and presently after, raising a rebellion against king Henry IV. was beheaded; and after him Edmund, who was high-Admiral of England, and, in the siege of St. Brieux in Little Britain, dy'd of a wound the year 1408. This dignity, for want of issue-male in the family, being extinct, and the estate divided among sisters, king Edward IV. honour'd with the title of Earl of Kent, first William Nevill lord of Fauconberg; and after his death Edmund Grey lord of Hastings, Westminster and Ruthyn, who was succeeded by his son George. He, by his first wife Anne Widevile, had Richard earl of Kent, who, after he had squander'd away his estate, dy'd without issue. But by his second wife Catherine, daughter of William Herbert earl of Pembroke, he had Henry Grey, knight, whose grandchild Reginald by his son Henry was made earl of Kent by queen Elizabeth, in the year 1572. He dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother Henry, a person plentifully endow'd with all the ornaments of true nobility.

This county hath 398 parish-churches.

## A Catalogue of rare PLANTS growing wild in KENT.

**ENGLISH wild Basil.** This grows in chalky, mountainous, barren, and gravelly grounds, not only in Kent (where Claus found it) but in many other counties of England. I take it to be only a variety of the common *Acinos*, or *Stone-Basil*, differing in having a thicker, even-edged, or not-indent-ed leaf. The herb-women were wont formerly to sell this plant for *Poley-mountain* at London. I suppose now they are better informed.

**White Maiden-hair, Wall-rue, Tentwort.** This grows in many places on old stone-walls, and in the chinks of rocks: as in this county on Rochester bridge, on the walls of Sir Robert Barnham's house at Bocton Munchelsey: at Cobham, where all the houses are covered with it. P.B. on Ashford-bridge and at Dartford. Park.

**The lesser Vervain-mallow.** Parkinson for synonyma of this gives *Alcea Matthioli* & *Tragi*, which others make synonymes of the common greater Vervain-mallow. He tells us also, that it grows in some places of Kent, but names no particular ones: Now Kent is a large spot of ground to seek out a plant in.

**Ladies mantle.** This is found frequently growing in mountainous meadows and pastures, especially in the North of England, where by the common people it is called *Bears-foot*. It grows also in the Southern parts, but more rarely. I have found it in some pastures near my own dwelling in Essex; and therefore can easily believe Parkinson, that it may be found at *Kinfwood nigh Feverham*, and elsewhere in Kent.

**Water Maidenhair.** I happened to find this plant in the cistern or conduit-house at *Leeds-Abbey* in Kent, belonging then to Sir William Meredith: howbeit I do not think it peculiar to Kent, but common to the like places all England over; tho' it hath not yet been my hap to meet with it elsewhere.

**Great English Marsh Fox-tail Grass.** In the salt marsh by *Eriffe church*. P. B.

**Chick-weed resembling the long-leaved Scurvy-grass.** Between the two parks at *Eltham* on the mud.

**Horned Chick-weed.** This is a sort of *Mousse-ear Chick-weed*, and no *Campion*, as C. Bauhine would have it. In *Westgate Bay* in the *isle of Thanet*. P. B. I do not believe that ever it grew there, unless  
in

some garden, or of seed accidentally shed. It's natural place is in Spain among corn.

The same authors of *Phytologia Britannica* tell us, that *Aurea lutea* is also to be found in the same isle: I believe as much as the former.

Round-leaved Water-Pimpernell. This herb, growing in marsh, watery and marsh grounds, and about little rivulets and springs in most counties of England, I should not have mentioned as a peculiar of Kent, but that it is no very common plant, and others have assigned place to it in this county. In the salt marshes two miles below Gravesend. *Phyt. Brit.*

Female or blue-flower'd Pimpernell. This may likely enough be found in Romney-marsh, as Parkinson tell us. We have observed it among the corn in other places of England, but more sparingly: beyond seas it is more plentiful in some countries than the red. However, I take it to be, not a distinct species but an accidental variety of Pimpernell, differing only in the colour of the flower.

Deptford-Pink. This is so called, either because it grows plentifully in the pastures about Deptford, or because it was there first taken notice of by our herbarists. It is not peculiar to Kent, but common to many other counties in meadows and pastures, especially where the ground is sandy or gravelly.

Jagged Sea-Orrache. At Queenborough and Margate in the Fleet Thanet, and in many other places on the sandy shores. *Ger.* Tho I have not observed it in these places, yet I believe it may there be found, as well as on the coasts of Essex.

Perennial tree-Colewort or Cabbage. On the chalky cliffs at Dover, plentifully.

English Sea-Colewort. This is common on sandy shores and flambaches not only in Kent, but all England over. The tender leaves of it are by the country-people eaten as other Coleworts, yea accounted more delicate than they.

The Box-tree. I find in the notes of my learned friend Mr. John Aubrey, that at Boxley in this county there be woods of them: as likewise at Boxwell in Cotswold, Gloucestershire: which places took their denomination from them.

The Chesnut-tree. This I observed in some woods near Sittingburn, whether spontaneous or formerly planted there, I cannot determine: I rather think spontaneous; it growing so frequent.

Small yellow Centory. This differs little from the common purple Centory, save in the colour of the flower. Parkinson, who alone, so far as I yet know, mentions this kind, tells us it grows in a field next unto Sir Francis Carew's house, at Beddington near Croydon, and in a field next beyond Southflete-church towards Gravesend. I never yet met with it in England; but in Italy I have found about Baia a small yellow Centory, differing from the *Centaureum luteum minimum* of Columna, and agreeing in all points with the common small purple Centory, save in the colour of the flower. Vide Park. p. 273.

Common Ground-pine. From Dartford along to Southflete, Cobham, and Rochester; and upon Chatham-Down hard by the Beacon, &c. Park. p. 283.

Golden-flower'd Sampire. In the miry marsh in the isle of Shepey, as you go from the king's ferry to Sherland house. Ger. p. 534.

Brickly Sampire, or Sea-Parthenip. Near the sea, upon the sands and beach, between Whitstable and the isle of Thanet by Sandwich. Ger. p. 534. That it groweth here I will not warrant, having no better authority than Gerard's.

Round-rooted bastard Cyperus. In divers places of Shepey and Thanet. Park. p. 1265.

Coralline Horse-tail. Found by Dr. Bowles on a bogg near Chiffelhurst in this country.

The Beech-tree. It is common in this country, as also in Suffex, Surrey, Hampshire, Hartfordshire, &c. Whence we cannot but wonder, that Caesar should \* write that there were in Britain all sorts of trees for timber, excepting fir and beech. We may also take notice, that the Horn-beam-tree is in this country called the Horse-beech, whence some learned men have been deceived, and induced to believe, that there grew two sorts of beech here.

Artichoke Mushroom. At Ripton near Ashford, also on Bromley-green, and at a place in Rumney-marsh called Warborn. Park. loco praefuso.

Doves-foot with jagged leaves, and flowers standing on long stalks. In the laves about Swanley near Dartford; and doubtless in many the like places.

Autumnal Gentian with small Centory leave. Clusius in his English Voyage observed this not far from Dover. I was once suspicious, that it

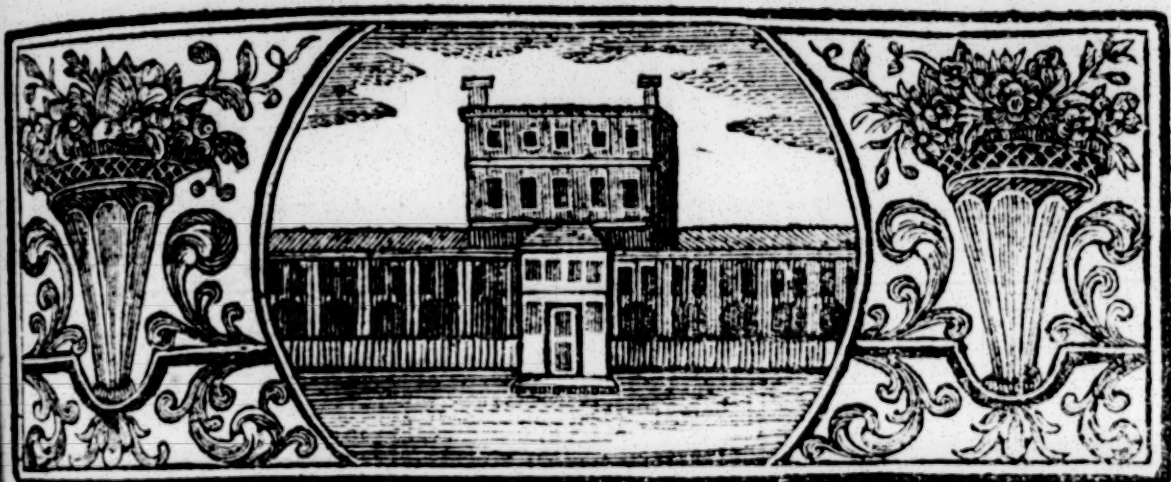
\* *Comm. de Bello Gallico.*

be no other than our common dwarf Autumnal Gentian, but I am frequently assured by credible persons, that there is a sort of Autumnal Gentian growing in England, which is specifically different from the most common kind, and probably the same with that which Clusius found near Dover.

Marsh Gentian, or Calathian Violet. Near Longfield by Gravesend, as also Green-hirthe and Cobham; about Sir Percival Hart's house at Iellingston, and in a chalky pit, not far from Dartford, by a paper-mill. Park. p. 407. I never yet found it but on boggy and heathy grounds and moist places in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.

Herb Paris, True-love, or One-ber y. In shady woods and copes in many places; as in Hinbury-wood three miles from Maidstone also in a wood called Harwash near to Pinneden-heath, one mile from the said Maidstone: in a wood by Chiffelhurst called Longwood, and in the next wood thereto, called Heets-wood, especially about the skirts of a hop-garden adjoining: in a wood also over-against Boxley-Abbey, a mile from Maidstone, in great abundance, not far from the hedge-side of that meadow through which runs a rivulet. Park. p. 390. This is to be found in the like places all England over, but not commonly.





# D O B U N I.



WE have gone through all those counties, which are bounded by the British Ocean, the Severn sea, and the river Thames. Let us now take a survey of the other counties in their order; and, crossing the river, and returning back to the Thames head, and to the estuary of Severn, let us view the territories of the Dobuni who inhabited Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire.

The name seems to be derived from Duffen, a British word, signifying deep; because of their living in a country which consists for the most part of plains and valleys. Whereupon, the whole people took their denomination from thence; and, from such a situation, Bathicia in Troas, Carabathmos in Africa, Deepdale in Britain, received their several names. And I am the more easily induced to this opinion, because I find that Dion calls these people by a name of the same signification, Bodunni, if there is not a transposition of the letters. For

K

Bodo


Bodo or Bodun, in the ancient language of the Gauls, as Pliny informs us, signifies *deep*, which language I have before demonstrated to be the same with the British; from whence, as he supposes, is the name of the city Bodincomagus, placed upon the deepest part of the river Poë, and that of the Bodiontii, a people that inhabited the deep valley now called Val de Fontenay, near the lake Lemane; not to mention Bodotria, the deepest frith in all Britain.

I have met with nothing in ancient authors concerning these Boduni, but that Aulus Plautius, who was sent by Claudius to be Proprætor in Britain, took part of them into his protection, who before were subject to the Catuellani, their next neighbours, and placed a garrison among them about the 45th year of our Lord, and this I have from Dio.

But as soon as the Saxons had conquer'd Britain, the name of Dobuni was lost, and part of them, with other inhabitants bordering upon them, were by a new German name called Wiccii; but from whence without the reader's leave, I should scarce presume to conjecture: Yet if Wic in Saxon signify the creek of a river, and the Vignones, a German people, are so called, because they dwell upon the creeks of rivers and the sea (as is affirmed by B. Rhenanus;) it cannot be absurd to derive the name of Wiccii from Wic; since their habitation was about the mouth of the Severn, which is full of windings and turnings.



## GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

 Gloucestershire, in Saxon *Gleawceastre-scyre*, *Gleawcestre-scyre*, and *Gleaucester-schyre*, was the chief territory of the Dobuni. It is bounded on the West by Monmouthshire and Herefordshire, on the North by Worcestershire, on the East by Oxfordshire and Warwickshire, and on the South by Wiltshire and part of Somersetshire. A pleasant and fertile county, extending from North-East to South-West; and said to be 60 miles in length, 26 in breadth, and 160 in circumference. The most Easterly part, which swells into rising hills, is called Cotteriswold. The middle part is a large fruitful plain, water'd by the most noble river Severn, that gives as it were life and spirit to the soil. The more Westerly part, lying on the other side Severn, is all shaded with woods. But enough of this: William of Malmesbury eases me of the labour; who fully describes this county, and sets forth the excellencies of it. Take what he writes in his book *De Pontificibus*.

The vale of Gloucester is so called from its chief city; the soil yields plenty of corn and fruit (in some places, by the natural richness of the ground, in others, by the diligence of the country-man;) enough to excite the idlest person to take pains, when it repays his labour with the increase of an hundred-fold. Here you may behold high-ways and publick roads full of fruit-trees, not planted, but growing naturally. The earth bears fruit of its own accord, much exceeding others both in taste and beauty, many sorts of which continue fresh the year round, and serve the owner till he is supplied by a new increase. No county in England has so many or so good vineyards as this, either for fertility or sweetness of the grape. The wine has in it no unpleasant tartness or eagerness; and is little inferior

‘ feriour to the French in sweetness. The villages are very thick, the  
 ‘ churches handsome, and the towns populous and many.

‘ To all which may be added, in honour of this county, the river  
 ‘ Severne; than which there is not any in the land that has a broader  
 ‘ chanel, swifter stream, or greater plenty of fish. There is in it as it  
 ‘ were a daily rage and fury of waters; which I know not whether I  
 ‘ may call a gulph or whirlpool, casting up the sands from the bottom,  
 ‘ and rowling them into heaps; it comes with a great torrent, but loses  
 ‘ its force at a bridge. Sometimes it overflows its banks, and, march-  
 ‘ ing a great way into the neighbouring plains, returns back as con-  
 ‘ queror of the land. That vessel is in great danger which is stricken  
 ‘ by it on the side; the watermen are used to it, and when they see  
 ‘ this Hygre coming (for so they call it) they turn the vessel, and,  
 ‘ cutting through the midst of it, avoid its force.

What he says concerning the hundred-fold increase, doth not at all  
 hold true; neither do I believe, with those idle and discontented  
 husband-men, whom Columella reprehends, that the soil, worn out  
 by excessive fruitfulness in former ages, is now become barren. But  
 from hence (to pass-by other arguments) we are not to wonder, that  
 so many places in this county from their vines are called vineyards, be-  
 cause they formerly afforded plenty of wine; and that they yield  
 none now, is rather to be imputed to the sloth of the inhabitants, than  
 the indisposition of the climate. Why, in some parts of this county  
 (as we read in our || statutes) the lands and tenements of condemn’d  
 persons (by a private custom, which had the force of a statute) are  
 forfeited to the king, only for a year and a day, and after that term  
 expired, contrary to the custom of all England beside, do return to the  
 next heirs, let the lawyers enquire, since it is not to my purpose: How-  
 ever, this custom or privilege is now entirely lost. And now let us  
 survey, in order, those three parts before-mentioned.

The more Westerly part beyond Severne (which was formerly pos-  
 sessed by the Silures) as far as the river Vaga or Wye, which divide  
 England and Wales, is all covered with thick woods, and at this day  
 is called Dean-Forest. Some of the Latin writers call it Sylva Danica  
 from the Danes; others with Giraldus, Danubia Sylva. But unless I  
 take the name from a small neighbouring town called Deane, I should  
 fancy that, by cutting off a syllable, it is derived from Arden; which

word the Gauls and Britains heretofore seem to have used for a wood, since two very great forests, the one in Gallia Belgica, the other amongst us in Warwickshire) are called by one and the same name, Arden. This formerly was thick with trees, so very dark and terrible by reason of its shades and cross-ways, that it render'd the inhabitants barbarous, and embolden'd them to commit many outrages. For in the reign of Henry VI. they so annoy'd the banks of the Severne with their robberies, that there was an Act of parliament \*made on purpose to curb and restrain them. But, since so many rich veins of iron have been discovered hereabouts, those thick woods are by degrees become much thinner. The present forest of Dean contains about 30000 acres; the soil is a deep clay, fit for the growth of oak. The hills, full of iron-ore, co'our the several springs that have their passage through them. Here are several furnaces (as may be seen in the Philosophical Transactions, N. 137.) for the making of iron, which by the violence of the fire becomes fluid, and, being brought to their forges, is beat out into bars of various shapes. The workmen are very industrious in seeking out the beds of old cinders; which, not being fully exhausted, are burnt again in the furnaces, and make the best iron. The oak of the forest was so very considerable, that it is said to have been part of the instructions of the Spanish Armada, to destroy the timber of this place. But what a foreign power could not effect, our own civil dissensions did; for it went miserably to wrack in those wars. In this forest, upon the river, stood two towns of good antiquity, Tudenham and Wollaston, which Walter and Roger, the brothers of Gislebert de Clare, about the year 1160. took from the Welsh: And hard by these is Lydney, where Sir William Winter, vice-admiral of England, a most worthy knight, built a fair house. This family suffered much for their loyalty to king Charles I. But most noted for antiquity is Antoninus's Abone or Avone, which is not yet wholly deprived of its old name, being now called Aventon, or Alvington, a chapel of ease to Wollaston, the estate of Henry duke of Beaufort; a small village indeed, but by Severn-side, and distant exactly 9 miles, as he also makes it, from Venta Silurum, or Caer Went. And since Avon in the British language signifies a river, it is not improbable that it took its name from the river. In the same sense, among us (to omit many others) we have Waterton, Bourne, Riverton; and the Romans had their Aquinum

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\* 8. Hen. VI.

and Fluentium. And I am the more inclined to believe, that the town took its name from the river, because at this place they used to ferry over; from whence the town opposite to it was called Trajectus by Antoninus: But without doubt there is an error in the computation of the distances, since he makes it 9 miles betwixt Trajectus and Abone; whereas the river is scarce 2 miles over.

But I suppose it may have lost it's name, or rather dwindled into a village, when passengers began to ferry over lower, or when Atheistan expell'd the Welsh thence. For he was the first (according to William of Malmesbury) who drove the Welsh beyond the river Wye; and whereas, in former times, Severn divided the Welsh (or the Cambri) and the English, he made the Wye their boundary: whence our countryman Necham;

*Inde Vagos Vaga Cambrenses, hinc respicit Anglos.*

On this side, Wye the English views,  
On that, the winding Welsh pursues.

In the late Commentary upon Antoninus, Abone is placed elsewhere upon the river Avon, namely at Hanham; which the author accordingly interprets, either as a contraction of Avonham, a ham or mansion at Abone, or else a contraction of Henham, an ancient ham or station.

Not far from Wye, stands, amongst tufts of trees, St. Breulais castle, more than half demolished; famous for the death of Mahel, youngest son of Miles earl of Hereford: for there, the judgments of God overtook him for his rapacious ways, inhuman cruelties, and boundless avarice, always usurping on other mens rights; (with all these vices he is taxed by the writers of that age.) For, as Giraldus tells us, being courteously entertained here by Walter de Clifford, and the castle taking fire, he lost his life by the fall of a stone on his head, from the highest tower. This castle (now ruin'd) serves as a prison for offenders in the forest. By the river Wye, lieth Newland, a large parish, standing in a pleasant plain, where Mr. Jones, a Hamborough Merchant, erected here an alms-house for 16 poor men and women, and gave a very good house and stipend to a lecturer; of which the company of Haberdashers in London are trustees. North-west from hence, is Westbury, a very large parish, reputed about 20 miles in compass.

Nothing

Nothing more is remarkable in this woody tract, but that Herbert, who married the daughter of the aforesaid Mahel earl of Hereford, was in right of his wife called Lord of Deane; from whom the noble family of the Herberts deduce their original, who gave rise to the lords of Blanlevny, and more lately, to the Herberts, earls of Huntingdon, and Pembroke, and others. From which family (if we may credit D. Powel, in his Welsh History) was descended Anthony Fitz-Herbert, whom the court of Common-Pleas, of which he was sometime Chief-justice, and his own most elaborate treatises of the common law, do manifest to have been exceeding eminent in his profession. But others affirm, that he was descended from the Fitz-Herberts, a knightly family in the county of Derby; and indeed, in my opinion, more truly.

The river Severn, called by the Britains Haffren, runs in this county above 40 miles, by land; and after it hath run a long way in a narrow chanel, at its first entrance into this shire it receives the Avon, and another small river that runs into it from the East; between which is seated Tewkesbury, in the Saxon tongue Theocsbury, by others named Theoci Curia and so called from Theocus, who there led the life of an hermit; a large and fair town, having three bridges leading to it over three rivers; famous for the making of woollen cloth and smart biting mustard; but formerly most noted for an ancient monastery founded by Odo and Dodo, two brothers, in the year of our Lord 715. where their palace formerly stood, as they testified by the following inscription:

HANC AULAM REGIAM DODO DUX CONSECRARI FECIT  
IN ECCLESIAM.

Which, being almost ruin'd by age and war, was repair'd by Robert Fitz-hamon, a Norman, out of a pious design to make satisfaction, on his part, for the loss that the church of Bajoux in Normandy sustain'd, which Henry I. had consumed with fire, to free him from prison, but afterwards, repenting of the fact, rebuilt. 'It cannot (saith William of Malmesbury) be easily conceived) how much Robert Fitz-hamon adorned and beautified this monastery, where the stateliness of the buildings ravished the eyes, and the pious charity of the monks the affections of all persons that came thither.' In this monastery, he and his successors earls of Gloucester, were interr'd, who had a castle hard-by call'd

call'd Holmes, that is now ruin'd. Nor was Tewkesbury less famous for the bloody overthrow that the Lancastrians received in this place in the year 1471; in which battle many of them were slain, and more taken and beheaded, and their power so weaken'd, and their hopes so sunk by the death of Edward, the only son of king Henry VI. while very young (his brains being barbarously beaten out here;) that they were never after able to make head against king Edward IV. Whence J. Hall writes thus of this town,

*Ampla foro, & partis spoliis præclara Theoci  
Curia, Sabrina qua se committit Avona,  
Fulget; nobilium sacrisque recondit in antris  
Multorum cineres, quondam inclyta corpora bello.*

Where Avon's friendly streams with Severn join,  
Great Tewkesbury's walls, renown'd for trophies, shine;  
And keep the sad remains, with pious care,  
Of noble souls, the honour of the war.

This corporation was dissolv'd in the year 1688, by the proclamation of king James II.

From hence we go down the stream to Deorhirst, which is mention'd by Bede: it lies very low upon the Severn, whereby it sustains great damage, when the river overflows. It had formerly a small monastery, which was ruined by the Danes, but flourish'd again under Edward the Confessor, who, as we read in his Will, assigned it, with the government thereof, to the monastery of St. Denis near Paris. But a little after, as Malmesbury saith, it was only an empty monument of antiquity. Here, a \* Gentleman of this place, in the year 1675, dug up in his orchard an old stone with this inscription:

*Odda Dux jussit hanc Regiam Aulam construi atque dedicari in honorem S. Trinitatis, pro anima germani sui Elfrici, quæ de hoc loco assumpta. Eadredus vero Episcopus, qui eandem dedicavit 2 Idibus April. 14. autem anno regni S. Eadwardi Regis Anglorum.*

In English, thus:

Duke Odda commanded this royal palace to be built, and to be dedicated to the holy Trinity, for the soul of his cousin Elfrick, which was parted from his body in this place. But Ealdred was the bishop who consecrated it, on the second of the Ides of April, and the 14th year of the reign of the holy king Edward.

Over-against this, in the middle of the river, lies a place called Oleneag and Alney by the Saxons (and in their ancient annals more fully Olanige) now the Eight, i. e. an island: Famous upon this account, that when the English and Danes had much weakened themselves by frequent encounters, in order to shorten the war, it was agreed, that the fate of both nations should be determined here, by the valour of Edmund king of the English, and Canutus king of the Danes, in single combat; who, after a long and doubtful encounter, agreed upon a peace, and the kingdom was divided between them: but Edmund being quickly taken out of the world, not without suspicion of poison, the Dane seized upon the whole.

From Deorhirst the river Severn, after many windings, parts itself, to make the foresaid isle of Alney (which is rich, and beautiful, with fruitful green meadows) and then hastens to the chief city of the county, which Antoninus calls Clevum or Glevum, the Britains Caer Glevi, the Saxons Gleawanceaster and Gleaucester, we Gloucester, the modern Latins Glovernia, others Claudiocestria from the emperor Claudius, who, as is reported, gave it that name, when he here married his daughter Genissa to Arviragus the British king, whom Juvenal mentions:

*Regem aliquem capies, vel de temone Britanno  
Excidet Arviragus. ———*

Some captive king thee his new lord shall own,  
Or from his British chariot headlong thrown  
The proud Arviragus comes tumbling down.

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if Claudius's three wives had brought him any daughters besides Claudia, Antonia, and Octavia; or as if Arviragus was known in that age, when his name was scarce heard of in Domitian's reign. But, leaving those who corrupt antiquity by their own fancies, I rather adhere to Ninnius's opinion, who derives this name from Clouus, great-grand-father

grand-father of king Vortigern ; only, I find Glevum mentioned long before by Antoninus (which the distance from Corinium, together with its name, shews to be the same place :) But as the Saxon name Gloucester came from Glevum, so Glevum by analogy came from the Britan name *Caer Glow* ; and that, I believe, from the British word *Glow* which in their language signifies Fair and Splendid ; so that *Caer Glow* is the same as a Fair City. Upon the like account, among the Greeks, were the names of Callipolis, Callidremos, and Callistrana and amongst the English \* *Brightstow* ; and in this county *Leamford*.

This city lies extended upon the river Severn ; and, on that side where it is not washed with the river, it is secured in some places with a strong wall ; being beautified with many fair churches, and handsome well-built streets. On the South part, was once a castle, built of square stone, but now almost quite ruin'd ; being only the common jail for debtors and felons. It was first erected in the time of William the conqueror, and sixteen houses were demolished in that place (as *Domesday-book* mentions it) to make room for this edifice. About which, as Roger de Monte writes, Roger, the son of Myles constable of Gloucester, commenced an action at law against king Henry II. and Walter his brother lost the right he had both to the city and castle. Ceaulin king of the West-Saxons, first took this city by force of arms from the Britains in the year 570 ; then it came under the jurisdiction of the Mercians, under whom it flourished a long time in great repute. Here Osrick king of the Northumbrians, by the permission of Ethelred king of the Mercians, founded a large and stately nunnery ; over which Kineburga, Eadburga, and Eva, all Mercian queens successively presided. Edelsleda likewise, the famous lady of the Mercians, adorned it with a noble church, in which herself lies intomb'd.

Not long after, when the whole county was ravaged by the Danes, those sacred virgins were forced to depart, and the Danes, as *Ælfric* saith, that ancient author writes, after many turns and changes did set up their tents at *Gleuu-cester*. And, those more ancient churches having been ruined in these times of calamity, Aldred archbishop of York and bishop of Worcester, erected a new one for monks, which is the present cathedral, and hath a dean and six prebendaries belonging to it. Which church, in former ages, received great additions

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\* *Bristow* is written *Bricgstow*, from a bridge.

ornaments from several benefactors : for J. Hanly and T. Farley, abbots, added the Virgin Mary's chapel. Nicholas Morwent built the Western porch from the ground, very beautifully. Thomas Horton abbot joined to the Northern cross-isle. Abbot Frowcester built the curious near chancel, and abbot Seabroke the great and stately tower. This is so great and curious, that travellers have affirmed it to be one of the best pieces of architecture in England. Abbot Seabroke, the first designer in building, left it to the care of Robert Tully, a monk, of this place ; which is intimated in those verses written in black letters, under the arch of the tower in the Quire :

*Hoc quod digestum specularis, opusque politum,  
Tulli hæc ex onere, Seabroke abbate iubente.*

This fabrick which you see, exact and neat,  
The Abbot charg'd the Monk to make compleat.

The South isle was rebuilt with the offerings that devout people made for the shine of king Edward II. who lies here interr'd in an alabaster tomb. And not far from him lies in the middle of the quire, the unfortunate Robert Curt-hose, eldest son of William the conqueror duke of Normandy, in a wooden monument. Beyond the quire, in an arch of the church, there is a wall built with so great artifice, in the form of a semicircle, with corners, that if any one whisper very low at one end, and another lay his ear to the other end, he may easily hear every syllable distinct. In the reign of William the conqueror, and before, the chief trade of the city seems to have been forging of iron ; as it is mentioned in Domesday-book, there was scarce any other tribute required by the king, except certain measures of iron, and iron-plates, for the use of the royal navy ; and a few pints of honey. After the coming-in of the Normans, it suffered some calamities, when England was in a flame, by the barons wars ; being plunder'd by Edward the son of Henry the third, and, after, almost laid in ashes by a casual fire.

But, by the blessing of a continued peace it flourished again. Afterwards, having the two adjacent hundreds added to it, by king Richard III. (who also gave it his sword and cap of maintenance) it

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|| An Icre is ten bars.

was made a county of itself, and called "The county of the city of Gloucester." But after the restoration of king Charles II. the said hundreds were taken away by act of parliament, and the walls pull'd down because they had shut the gates against king Charles I. when he lay siege to the place, in the year 1643. Henry VIII. in the memory of \* our fathers, adorned it with an episcopal see, with which dignity, Geoffry of Monmouth saith, it was anciently honoured: and I have reason not to question the truth of that assertion, since the bishop of Cluve is reckoned among the British prelates, (which name being derived from Clevum or Glow, doth in part confirm my conjecture, that this is the Glevum mentioned by Antoninus.) Also in the hall of the bishop's palace, is writtes Eldædus Episcopus Glocestrensis; and bishop Godwin says, that Theonus was translated from Glocester to London in the year 553.

Just beyond Gloucester, the Severn passeth by Hempstead, the church whereof, till that time impropriate, was changed into a rectory, upon a free gift of the impropriation made to it by John lord Scudamore viscount Slego in Ireland; which said gift was confirmed to the church by a special act of parliament procured by him for that end. Then passeth by Lanthony, a ruined priory built in the year 1136. as cell to that of St. John Baptist, in Wales.

Below this, the river Stroud runs into the Severn; upon which stands a town of the same name, famous for cloathing; the ware whereof is said to have a peculiar quality for dying reds. It is a market-town, standing on the ascent of a hill, and is the chief residence of the clothiers in these parts, whose trade in this county amounts yearly to 500,000 l. some making a thousand cloaths a year, for their own share. Not far from hence, in the parish of Billey, was born the famous friar bacon, and educated at St. Mary's chapel (now St. Paul's mill on Stroud-river) wherein is a room called at this day Friar Bacon's Study. Between Stroud and Gloucester, standeth Paynswick, a market-town, said to have the best and most wholesome air in the whole county: and near it, on the hill, was Kembsborow-castle, the fortifications and trenches whereof are still visible. This is exceeding high having on the North side a vast precipice, and on the other sides stupendous works.

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\* So said anno 1607.

South of the river Stroud and not far from Minchin-hampton (a neat market-town, once belonging to the nuns of Sion) is Woodchester, famous for its Tessellick work of painted beasts and flowers, which appears in the church-yard, two or three foot deep, in making the graves. If we may believe tradition, earl Godwin's wife (to make restitution for her husband's fraud at Barkley) built a religious-house here, with those pretty ornaments that are yet to be seen. Here, anciently stood a chapel dedicated to St Blaize; and in digging up the foundations of it, there were found many modern coins, as also ancient Roman coins, and other Roman antiquities. In a vault also many human bodies were discovered, whose skulls and teeth were entire, white, and firm.

But now, to return to the river Severn. Having left Gloucester, and united its divided streams, it waxes broader and deeper by the tide, and this makes it rage and foam like the sea; towards which it runs with frequent turnings and windings. But in its course, it toucheth upon nothing memorable, except Cambridge, a small country-hamlet, where Cam a little river runs into it, at which bridge (as Æthelwerd writeth) when the Danes, laden with rich spoils, passed over, by filing off, the West-Saxons and Mercians received them with a bloody encounter in Woodnesfield; in which Healfden, Cinuil, and Inguar, three of their princes, were slain: which yet is said by others to have been at Bridgenorth.

On the same side of the river, not much lower, standeth Berkley, in the Saxon tongue Beorkenlau. It is eminent for a strong castle and mayor (the chief magistrate, tho' now only titular) as also for the lords thereof, the barons of Barkley, of an ancient and noble family; of which was William baron of Barkley, who in the reign of Henry the seventh was made viscount and marquis Barkley, earl of Nottingham, and marshal of England; but he dying without issue, those titles died with him. If you would know by what stratagem Godwin earl of Kent (a man exceeding fit for the execution of any wicked design) got possession of this place, take this short account from Walter Mapes, who lived 500 years since, for it is not unworthy the reader's perusal. "Berkley is a village near Severne, of the yearly value of 500 l. in which was a nunnery governed by an abbess, that was both noble and beautiful. Earl Godwin, a notable subtle man, not desiring her but

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\* Vide Shropshire.

her's, as he pass'd by, left his nephew, a young proper handsome spark (under pretence of being seized with sickness) till he should return back thither, and instructed him to counterfeit an indisposition, till he had got all who came to visit him, both lady abbess, and a number of the nuns as he could, with child. And to carry on this intrigue more plausibly, and more effectually to obtain the favour of the nuns, the earl furnished him with rings and girdles, that by those presents he might the more easily corrupt and gain their inclination. There need'd no great intreaty to persuade this young gallant, to undertake an employment so amorous and pleasing. The way to destruction is easy, and quickly learnt; he seem'd wonderful cunning, to himself; but all his cunning was but folly. In him were concentr'd all those accomplishments that might captivate foolish and unthinking virgins; beauty, wit, riches, and obliging mein: and he was much solicitous to have a private apartment to himself. The devil therefore expelled Iallas, and brought in Venus; and converted the church of our Saviour and his saints into an accursed Pantheon, the temple into a stew, and the lambs into wolves. When many of them proved with child, and the youth began to languish, being overcome with the excess and variety of pleasure, he hastened home with the reports of his conquests (worthy to have the reward of iniquity) to his expecting lord. The earl immediately addresses the king, and acquaints him, That the abbess and the nuns were gotten with child, and had render'd themselves prostitutes to all comers; all which upon inquiry was found true. Upon the expulsion of the nuns, he begs Berkley, and had it granted him by the king, and settled it upon his wife Guelin, but (as Domesday-book hath it) she refused to eat any thing that came out of this manour, because of the destruction of the abbey: And therefore he bought Udecester for her maintenance, whilst she lived at Berkley." Thus, a consciencious mind can never relish ill-gotten possessions.

I had rather you should be informed from historians than from me, how king Edward II. being deprived of his kingdom by the artifice of his wife, was afterwards murder'd in this castle, by the damnable subtilty of Adam bishop of Hereford, who sent these enigmatical words to his keepers, without any points:

*Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est.*

To seek to shed king Edward's blood  
 Refuse to fear I think it good.

so as, by the double sense and construction of the words, they might be encouraged to commit the murder, and he plausibly vindicate himself from giving any directions in it. Below Barkley, the little river Avon runs into the sea; at the head of which, scarce eight miles from the shore, on the hills near Alderley a small town, are stones resembling cockles and oysters; which, whether they were living animals, or the ludicrous fancies of nature, let the natural philosophers enquire. But Fracastorius, the prince of philosophers in our age, makes no question but that they were animals engendred in the sea, and carried by the waters to the tops of mountains: for he affirms hills to have been cast up by the sea, and that they were at first only heaps of sand tumbled together; also, that the sea overflow'd where high hills now are: upon the return of which into its wonted course, islands and hills did first appear. But these things respect not my present intention.

The Traiectus which Antoninus mentions to be opposite to Abone, where they used to pass the Severn, was, as I imagine by the name, at Odbury, i. e. an ancient borough (as now we ferry over at Aust a village somewhat lower. Which place was formerly called Aust-Clive, for it is situate upon a very high craggy cliff. What the aforementioned Mapes has told us as done in this place, is worth your knowledge.

Edward the elder (saith he) lying at Aust-Clive, and Leolin prince of Wales at Bethesley, when the latter would neither come down to a conference, nor cross the Severn, Edward passed over to Leolin; who seeing the king, and knowing who he was, threw his royal robes upon the ground (which he had prepared to sit in judgment with) and leaped into the water breast high, and embracing the boat, said, Most wise king, your humility has conquered my pride, and your wisdom triumphed over my folly; mount upon that neck which I have foolishly exalted against you, so shall you enter into that country which your goodness hath this day made your own. And so, taking him upon his shoulders, he made him sit upon his robes, and joining hands did homage to him.

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\* So said anno 1677.

Not far from Aust, is Aveston, in which parish is a large round camp, on the edge of an hill, from whence is a pleasant prospect of the Severn; and near the camp is a large barrow, in which were found, upon digging, the bones of divers men laid in distinct tombs or tents. Another camp also, which is an oblong square, with a single ditch, is to be seen at Castlehill; not far distant.

On the same shore lies Thornbury, where are to be seen the foundations of a magnificent castle, which Edward duke of Buckingham designed to erect in the year 1511. as this inscription testifies:

*This gate was begun 1511. 2 Hen. VIII. by me Edward duke of Buckingham, earl of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton.*

He was beheaded before he perfected his design; for he had intended to make the church at Thornbury, collegiate, with dean and prebendaries. They have here four small alms-houses, a free-school, and weekly market. The most considerable gentry, heretofore, paid an annual attendance at Thornbury-court, where the abbot of Tewkesbury was obliged personally to say mass. Seven miles from hence, the river Avon running into Severn, divides Gloucestershire and Somersetshire: and not far from the side of the river is Puckle-church, anciently a royal vill called Puckle-kerks, where Edmund king of England was killed with a dagger, as he interposed between his sewer, and one Leef, a profligate fellow, who were quarrelling. Beyond this, near Bristol, lieth Kinswood-forest, formerly of a much larger extent, but now drawn within the bounds of 5000 acres.

Not far from Bristol lieth Westbury, upon Trin; which river is now dwindled into a little brook. Here was a famous college, encompassed with a strong wall, built by John Carpenter bishop of Worcester, about the year 1443. who designed to have been stiled bishop of Worcester and Westbury. This, with the adjacent parishes in Gloucestershire, that lie round Bristol, are under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Bristol.

About three miles from Bristol, and three from Severn, is Pen-park-hole, the passage into which is down a ragged and rocky tunnel for thirty-nine yards; after which, the hole spread into an irregular oblong figure seventy-five yards in length, and forty-one in breadth, with a large pool of Water at the bottom of it.

On the top of St. Vincent's rocks near Bristol, is a roundish fortification or camp; the rampire and grasse thereof not great: for by reason of the nearness of the rock, which is as hard as marble, the ground is not easily dug. Whether those rocks towards the top consist mostly of petrify'd pieces of wood (as some are inclined to think) let the naturalists examine. The precipice of the rock over the river Avon, has made all Works on the West side needless. In the same parish is the Hot Well, famous for curing several distempers, and especially the Diabetes; and a very cold stream at Jacob's Well, which is much esteemed for its wholesome waters. About two miles from St. Vincent's rocks, is Henbury, where is a camp with three rampires and trenches; from which we may conclude it to have been the work, rather of the Britains, than of any other people. But, now to return.

Near Puckle-church lieth Winterbourne, of which the Bradstones were lords; from whom the viscounts Montacute barons of Wentworth, &c. are descended; as also Acton, which gave name to a knightly family, whose heiress being married to Sir Nicholas Pointz, in the time of Edward II. left it to her posterity: Derham, a small village, in Saxon Deorham, where Ceaulin the Saxon in a bloody engagement slew three of the British princes, Commeail, Condilan, and Emriol, with divers others, and so dispossessed the Britains of that part of their country, for ever. There are yet to be seen in the place huge rampires and trenches (the fortifications of their camps) and other evident signs of that memorable battle. This was the barony of James de novo Mercatu, who having two daughters, Hawys and Isabel, married one, first to John de Botereaux, and then to Nicholas de Moils; and the other to Ralph Ruffel; whose posterity, being enriched by marriage with an heir of the honourable family of the Groges, assumed that name.

More northward is Duresley, the ancient possession of the Berkleys, hence called Berkleys of Duresley (founders of the adjacent abbey of Kingwood, of the Cistercian order.) Not far eastward we behold Everstone-castle, formerly belonging to the Gournys and Ab-Adams, who flourished under Edward I. and afterwards, to the knightly family of the Berkleys.

Hitherto I have made cursory remarks upon the places in this county which are situate beyond or upon the Severn; now I will pass to the easterly parts, which I observed to be hilly; to wit, Cotswold, which takes its name from the hills and sheep-cotes, (for, mountains

and hills the English formerly called Woulds; on which account an ancient Glossary interprets the Alps of Italy the Woulds of Italy. Upon these hills, are fed large flocks of sheep, with the whitest wool; having long necks and square bodies, by reason, as is supposed, of their hilly and short pasture; whose fine wool is much valued in foreign parts. Under the side of these hills, as it were in a neighbourhood, together, lie the following places, remarkable for their antiquity.

Camden, commonly called Camden, a noted market-town where, as John Castor avers, all the kings of the Saxon race had a congress in the year 689, to consult how to carry on the war jointly against the Britains: which town, in William the Conqueror's time, was in the possession of Hugh earl of Chester, and from his posterity descended by Nicholas de Alberiaco, to Roger de Somery. Adjoining to Camden, is Weston, of no great antiquity. Hales, heretofore a most flourishing abbey, built by Richard earl of Cornwall and king of the Romans, and famous for its scholar Alexander de Hales, a great master of the knotty and more subtile sort of school-divinity.

Sudley, formerly Sud eagh, a beautiful castle, heretofore the seat of Giles Bruges baron of Chandos, whose grandfather John was honoured by Queen Mary with that title, and whose noble and generous descendant James Bridges hath been lately advanced to the honour of Duke of Chandos; because they derive their pedigree from the ancient family of Chandos: Of which, there flourished, in the reign of king Edward III. John Chandos, viscount St. Saviour's in France, eminent for his services, and great success, in war. The former lords and inhabitants, hence called barons of Sudley, were of an ancient English race, deducing their original from Goda the daughter of king Ethelred, whose son Ralph Medantinus, earl of Hereford, was the father of Harold lord of Sudley. His posterity continued here a long time, till the issue-male being extinct, the heiress married William Butler, of the family of Wem. and brought him a son named Thomas. He was the father of Ralph. lord high treasurer of England, whom Henry VI. created baron of Sudley, and who new-built this castle. His sisters were married into the families of Northbury and Belknap; by which the estate was in a little time divided into several families.

Hard by this is Toddington, where the Tracies, of a worshipping and ancient family, have long flourished, and formerly received many favours from the barons of Sudley. But how, in the first reformation of religion, William Tracy lord of this place, was censured after his death, his body being dug-up and burn'd publicly, for some slight word

words in his last will, which those times call'd heretical; or how, in preceding times, another William Tracey imbrued his hands in the blood of Thomas archbishop of Canterbury; ecclesiastical writers have told us at large, and it is no part of my business to relate. Winchelcomb is also seated here, a populous town, where Kenulph the Mercian king erected a monastery, and, on the day of its consecration, freely set at liberty Edbrieth king of Kent, then his prisoner, without ransom.

It is scarce credible, in what great repute this monastery was, for the sake of the reliques of king Kenelm, a child of seven years old, whom his sister privately murder'd to gain the inheritance; and who by that age was put into the catalogue of martyrs. The neighbourhood of this place was formerly reckon'd as a county or sheriffdom by itself: for we find in an ancient manuscript belonging to the church of Worcester, these words, "Edric surnamed Streona, that is, the Acquirer, who under Ethelrad, and for some time after under Cnute or Canute, presided and reigned as viceroy over all England, joined the sheriffdom of Winchelcombe, which was then entire within itself, to the county of Gloucester.

Lower in the county lieth Brimesfield, where the Giffords were formerly lords; of which family, John Gifford, lord of this place, founded Gloucester-hall in Oxford, for the monks of Gloucester. To them, by marriage with the Cliffords, came a plentiful estate; but soon after it was carried by daughters to the lords Le Strange of Blackmier, the Audleys, and others.

These places are situate among the hills: but under the hills, upon the East confines of the county, I saw that famous Roman high-way called the Fosse. Out of Warwickshire it comes down by Leming-ton, where there seems to have been a station of the Romans, from the coins which are often plowed up there; some of which, Edward Palmer, an industrious antiquary, whose ancestors lived long here, very courteously bestow'd upon me. Thence it goes by Stow on the Wold, which, by it's high situation, is too much exposed to the winds. Next, the Fosse goes by Burton, in ancient grants Burgtone; which seems to have been a place of some note, as well by the name, as by the tracts of houses which are discovered here, after great rains. Here also, the marks of a camp of large extent are still to be seen. Then, by North-leach, so called from the rivulet running by it; a market-town; with a neat church. Here is also a good Grammar-school, founded by Hugh Westwood, Esq; who, as it is commonly reported,

reported, came afterwards to be low in the world, and desiring to be master of his own school, was deny'd that favour by the trustees. By a statute made in the \*fourth year of king James I. it was settled upon Queen's college in Oxford. From North-leach, the Fosse-way goes to Cirencester, to which town the river Churn, running southward among the hills, and very commodious for mills, gave that name. This was a famous city, of great antiquity, called by Ptolemy Corinium, and by Antoninus Durocornovium, i. e. the water Cornovium; just fifteen miles (as he also observes it to be) from Glevum, or Gloucester. The Britains called it *Caer-cori* and *Caer-cei*, the Saxons *Cyren-ceaster*, and at this day it is called *Circester* and *Circiter*. The ruined walls plainly shew that it hath been very large, for they are said to have been two miles about. That this was a considerable place is evident from the Roman coins, chequer'd pavements, and inscriptions in marble, dug-up here; (which coming into the hands of ignorant and illiterate persons, have been slighted and lost, to the great prejudice of antiquities;) and from those consular ways of the same people, which here crossed each other: Especially, that which leadeth to Glevum, or Gloucester, is still visible with a high ridge, as far as Bird-lip-hill; and to a curious observer, it seems to have been paved with stone. The British Annals tell us, that this city was set on fire by one Gurmundus, I know not what African tyrant; and that he made use of sparrows to effect it: Whence Giraldus calls it the City of sparrows: And from these memoirs Necham writes thus:

*Urbs vires experta tuas, Gurmunde, per annos  
Septem. —*

A city that defy'd proud Gurmund's strength  
For seven long years. —

Who this Gurmund was, I confess I am ignorant. The inhabitants shew a mount of earth near the town, which they say Gurmund cast up; but they call it Grimund's Tower. Marianus, an ancient historian of good credit, says, that Ceaulin took this city from the Britains after he had vanquished their forces at Deorham, and reduced Gloucester. For a long time after, it was subject to the West-Saxons: to

we read, how Penda the Mercian was defeated by Cinegilsig king of the West-Saxons, when he laid siege to it with a mighty army. But at last it came, with the whole county, under the power of the Mercians, and so continued till the English monarchy began: under which, it was grievously harrailed by the incursions of the Danes, possibly by that Garmon the Dane whom historians call Guthrus and Gumundus. Now, scarce the fourth part within the walls is inhabited; the rest being pasture-grounds, and the ruins of an abbey, first built by the Saxons, as is reported, and repaired by Henry II. in which, as I am informed, many of the family of the barons of St. Amand are interred.

The castle that stood there was razed by command of Henry III. in the first year of his reign. The chief trade of the inhabitants is in the woollen manufacture; and they talk much of the great bounty of Richard I. who enriched the abbey, and (as they affirm) made them lords of the seven adjacent hundreds, to hold the same in fee-farm, to have trial of causes, and to have the forfeitures, amercements, and other profits arising thence, to their own use. Moreover, king Henry IV. granted them certain privileges, for their good services against Thomas Holland earl of Kent. John Holland earl of Huntingdon, John Montacute earl of Salisbury, Thomas de Spencer earl of Gloucester, and others, who, being deprived of their honours, conspired against him, and being here secured by the townmen, some of them were instantly slain, and the rest beheaded.

Beyond Cirencester, lieth Fairford, where the fine church was built by John Tame Esq; He died the 8th of May, 1500. and lies buried here. The church is particularly remarkable, on account of the painted glass, which the founder, a merchant, took in a prize-ship bound for Rome, and brought over into England. The windows are twenty-eight in number, and the paintings (which were designed by Albert Durer, an eminent German master) represent the histories of the Old and New Testament; together with the fathers, martyrs, and persecutors of the church.

The river Churne, having left Cirencester about six miles, and run by Iatton, where, about the year 1670, was found, in a plowed field, a pavement of chequer-work, joins the Isis: for Isis, commonly called Ouse (that it might be originally of Gloucestershire) riseth near the south border of this county, not far from Torleton, a small village, hard by the famous Fosse-way. This is that Isis which afterwards joining with Tame, by adding the names together is called Tamisis,  
chief

chief of the British rivers ; of which we may truly say, as the ancients did of Euphrates in the East, that it both plants and waters Britain. The poetical description of its head or fountain, taken out of the Marriage of Tame and Isis, I have here added ; which you may read or omit, as you please.

*Lanigeros qua lata greges Cotswaldia pascit,  
Crescit & in colles faciles, visura Dobunos,  
Haud procul a \* Fossa longo spelunca recessu  
Cernitur, abrupti surgente crepidine clivi :  
Cujus inauratis resplendent limina tophis,  
Atria tegit ebur, tectumque Gagae Britanno  
Emicat, alterno solidantur pumice postes.  
Materiam sed vincit opus, ceduntque labori  
Artifici topus, pumex ebur, atque Gagates.*

*Pingitur hinc vitrei moderatrix Cynthia regni  
Passibus obliquis volventia sydera lustrans :  
Oceano tellus conjuncta marito marito  
Illinc cœlatur, fraternaue flumina Ganges,  
Nilus, Amazonius, tractusque binominis Istri,  
Vicini & Rheni, sed & his intermicat auro  
Vellere Phryxæo dives, redimitaque spicis  
Clara triumphatis erecta Britannia Gallis, &c.*

*Undoso hic folio residet regnator aquarum  
Isis, fluminea qui majestate verendus  
Cæruleo gremio resupinat prodigus urnam,  
Intonsos crines ulvis & arundine cinctus,  
Cornua cana liquent, fluitantia lumina lymphis  
Dispergunt lucem, propexa in pectore barba  
Tota madet, toto distillant corpore guttæ :  
Et salientis aquæ prorumpunt undique venæ.  
Pisciculi liquidis penetralibus undique ludunt,  
Plurimus & cygnus niveis argenteis alis  
Pervolat circum. &c.*

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\* That is, the Fosse-way.

Where Cotswold's hillocks, fam'd for weighty sheep,  
 Their eager course to the Dobunians keep ;  
 Near the great Fosse, a spacious plain there lies,  
 Where broken cliffs the secret top disguise.  
 Huge free-stones neatly carv'd adorn the gate,  
 The porch with ivory shines, the roof with jet,  
 And rows of pumice in the posts are set.  
 But nature yields to art : the workman's skill  
 Does free-stone, ivory, pumice, jet excell.

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Here wand'ring Cynthia, arbitress o' th' main,  
 Guides the dark stars with her refulgent train.  
 There earth and ocean their embraces join,  
 Here Ganges, Danube, Thermadon, and Rhine,  
 And fruitful Nile in costly sculpture shine.  
 Above the rest great Britain sits in state,  
 With golden fleeces cloath'd, and crown'd with wheat,  
 And Gallick spoils lie trampled at her feet, &c.

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Here awful Isis fills his liquid throne ;  
 Isis, whom British streams their monarch own.  
 His never-wearied hands a spacious urn  
 Down on his azure bosom gravely turn,  
 And flags and reeds his unpoll'd locks adorn.  
 Each waving horn the subject stream supplies,  
 And grateful light darts from his shining eyes.  
 His grizzly beard all wet hangs dropping down,  
 And gushing veins in watry chanel run.  
 The little fish in joyful numbers crowd,  
 And silver swans fly o'er the crystal flood,  
 And clap their snowy wings, &c.

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As to the earls of Gloucester ; some have obtruded upon us William Fitz-Eustace for the first earl. Who he was, I have not yet found in my reading ; and I believe there never was such a man : but what I have observed, I will not conceal from the reader Eldol the Britain is \* said

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\* *Dugd. Baron.* p. 1.

to have had the title of earl of Gloucester in the year 461; and Swayne, eldest son to Godwin earl of Kent, to have had the same honour. It is said also, that about the Norman invasion, one Brithrick a Saxon was lord of Gloucester, against whom Maud, the wife of William the Norman, was highly exasperated, for his contempt of her beauty, (for he had before refused to marry her) and so, maliciously contrived his ruin; and when he was cast into prison, his estate was granted by the Conqueror to Robert the son of Haimon, of Cu-boyle in Normandy, commonly called Fitz-Haimon; who receiving a blow on the head with a pole, lived a great while distracted. His daughter Mabel (by others called Sybil) was married to Robert natural son of king Henry I. who was made first earl of Gloucester, and by the common writers of that age is called Consul of Gloucester, a person, above all others in those times, of a great and undaunted spirit, who was never dismay'd by misfortunes, and who performed many heroick and difficult exploits with mighty honour, in the cause of his sister Maud, against Stephen the usurper of the crown of England. His son William succeeded in the honour, whose three daughters conveyed it to so many families. The eldest, Isabella, brought this title to John the son of Henry II. but when he had possessed himself of the throne, he procured a divorce from her, and sold her for 20,000 marks to Geoffry de Mandeville son of Geoffry, son of Peter earl of Essex, and created him earl of Gloucester. He being dead without issue, Almaric, son to the earl of Eu-reux, had this honour confer'd upon him, as being born of Mabel the youngest daughter of earl William aforesaid. But Almaric dying also without issue, the honour came to Amicia, the second daughter, who being married to Richard de Clare earl of Hartford, was mother to Gilbert de Clare earl of Gloucester; whose son Richard, and his grandson Gilbert 2. and great-grandson Gilbert 3. (who was killed in the battle of Sterling in Scotland) successively inherited this title. But, in the minority of Gilbert 3. Ralph de Monthermer, who had clandestinely married the widow of Gilbert 2. and \* daughter of Edward I. did for some time enjoy the title of earl of Gloucester.

But when Gilbert arrived at the age of 21 years, he claimed the title and was summoned to serve in parliament among the barons. After Gilbert 3. who died without issue, Hugh de Spencer, or Spencer, jun. is by writers stiled earl of Gloucester, in right of his wife, who was the

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\* Called *Joanna D'Acres*, because born at *Acon*.

eldest sister of Gilbert 3. But he being hang'd by the queen and her lords, in spite to Edward II. whose favourite he was, Hugh de Audley, who had married the other sister, by the favour of Edward III. obtained this honour. After whose death king Richard II. erected this title into a dukedom, of which there were three dukes, with one earl between, and to all of them it was unfortunate and fatal.

Thomas of Woodstock earl of Buckingham, the youngest son of king Edward III. was the first who was dignified with the title of duke, but presently deprived of it, by king Richard II. For being an ambitious man, and of an unquiet spirit, he was, by order of the king, surpris'd and sent to Calais, and there smother'd with a feather-bed; having before made a confession under his hand (as appears in the parliament-rolls) that, by virtue of a patent which he had extorted from the king, he had arrogated to himself regal authority, appeared armed in the king's presence, contumeliously reviled him, consulted with learned men how he might renounce his allegiance, and entertained a design to depose him. For which, after he was dead, he was attain'd of high-treason by act of parliament. He being thus taken off, the same king gave the title of earl of Gloucester to Thomas de Spencer, who, a little after, met with no better fate than his great-grandfather Hugh had done; for he was prosecuted by Henry IV. and ignominiously degraded, and beheaded at Bristol. Henry V. created his brother Humphrey the second duke of Gloucester, who used to stile himself, Son, brother, and uncle of kings, duke of Gloucester, earl of Pembroke, and lord high chamberlain of England. He was a great friend and patron of his country, and of learning; but by the contrivance of a woman, he was taken off at St. Edmund's-bury. The third duke was Richard III. brother of king Edward IV. who, having inhumanly murder'd his nephews, usurp'd the throne, which within the space of two years he lost with his life in a pitch'd battle, and found by sad experience, That usurped power is never lasting.

Concerning this last duke of Gloucester, and his first accession to the crown, give me leave to act the part of an historian for a while, which I shall presently lay aside again, as not being sufficiently qualified for such an undertaking.

When he was declared protector of the kingdom, and had his two young nephews, Edward V. king of England, and Richard duke of York, in his power, he began to aim at the crown; and by a profuse liberality, great gravity mixed with singular affability, profound wisdom, and impartial justice to all people, joined with many subtle de-

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vices,

vices, he procured the affections of all, and particularly gained the lawyers to his side; and so managed the matter, that an humble petition was presented to him in the name of the estates of the realm, in which they earnestly prayed, that for the publick good of the kingdom, and safety of the people, he would accept the crown, and thereby support his tottering country, and not suffer it to fall into utter ruin; which, without respect to the laws of nature, and those of the established government, had been harrassed and perplexed with civil wars, rapines, murders, and all other sorts of miseries, ever since Edward IV. his brother, being enchanted with love-portions, had contracted that unhappy match with Elizabeth Grey widow, without the consent of nobles, or publication of banns, in a clandestine manner, and not in the face of the congregation, contrary to the laudable custom of the church of England; and what was worse, after he had contracted himself to the lady Eleanor Butler, daughter to the earl of Shrewsbury; from whence it was apparent, that his marriage was unlawful, and that the issue proceeding thence must be illegitimate, and not capable of inheriting the crown. Moreover, since George duke of Clarence, second brother of Edward IV. was by act of parliament attainted of high-treason, and his children excluded from all right of succession, none could be ignorant, that Richard remained the sole and undoubted heir of the crown; who, being born in England, they knew would heartily consult the good of his native country; and of whose birth or legitimacy there was not the least question or dispute: whose wisdom also, justice, gallantry of mind, and warlike exploits valiantly performed for the good of the nation, together with his noble extraction (as descended from the royal race of England, France, and Spain) they were very well acquainted with, and fully understood. Wherefore having seriously weigh'd and consider'd these and many other reasons, they did freely voluntarily, and unanimously, according to their petition, elect him to be their king; and with prayers and tears did, out of the great confidence they had in him, humbly beseech him to accept of the kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland, which were doubly his, both by right of inheritance, and of election; and that, for the love which he bore to his native country, he would lend his helping hand, to save and protect it from imminent ruin. Which if he performed, they promised him all faith, duty, and assistance; otherwise, they were resolved to endure the utmost extremity, rather than suffer themselves to be brought into the bonds of a dishonourable slavery, from which at present they were freed. This humble petition was presented to him, before he accepted

cepted the crown ; afterwards it was also offered in the great council of the nation, and approved of, and by their authority it was enacted and declared (in a multitude of words, as the custom is) That by the laws of God, nature, and of England, and by a most laudable custom, Richard, after a lawful election, inauguration, and coronation, was, and is the true and undoubted king of England, &c. and that the inheritance of these kingdoms rightfully belongs to the heirs of his body lawfully begotten : and, to use the very words of the original record, " It was enacted, decreed, and declared, by authority of parliament, that all and singular the contents of the aforesaid bill, are true and undoubted ; and the same our lord the king, with the assent of the three estates of the realm, and the authority aforesaid, doth pronounce, decree, and declare to be true and undoubted.

I have explained these matters somewhat more largely, that it may be understood how far the power of a prince, pretended godliness, subtle arguings of lawyers, hope, fear, desire of changes, and fair and specious pretences, may prevail against all right and justice, even in the great and wise assembly of the nation. But the same cannot be said of this Richard as was of Galba, that he had been thought fit for empire, had he not reigned ; for Galba, after he was settled in the empire, deceived all mens expectations ; but this had been most worthy of a kingdom, had he not aspired to it by wicked ways ; so that in the opinion of the wise, he is to be reckoned in the number of bad men, but of good princes. But I must not forget that I am a chorographer, and ought therefore to lay aside the historian.

There are in this county 280 parishes.

### A Catalogue of PLANTS growing wild in *Glocestershire*.

**E**legant broad-leav'd imperforate St. John's-wort. On St. Vincent's rock near Bristol.

Marsh-Asparagus or Sperage, corruptly called Sparrow-grass. In Appleton-meadow about two miles from Bristol : where the country people do gather the buds or young shoots, and sell them in the markets at Bristol, much cheaper than our garden-kind is sold in London. Park. p. 455.

The Box-tree. At Boxwell in Coteswold. As I find in some notes communicated to me by my honoured friend Mr. John Aubrey.

Daisy-leav'd Ladies-inock. Found by Mr. Newton on St. Vincent's rock near Bristol.

Spleenwort or Miltwaft. About St. Vincent's rock among the heaps of stones plentifully: and on many walls about Bristol.

Small Autumnal Hyacinth. On the same St. Vincent's rock.

English Sea tree-mallow. On an island called Dinney, three miles from King's-road, and five miles from Bristol. Park. p. 306.

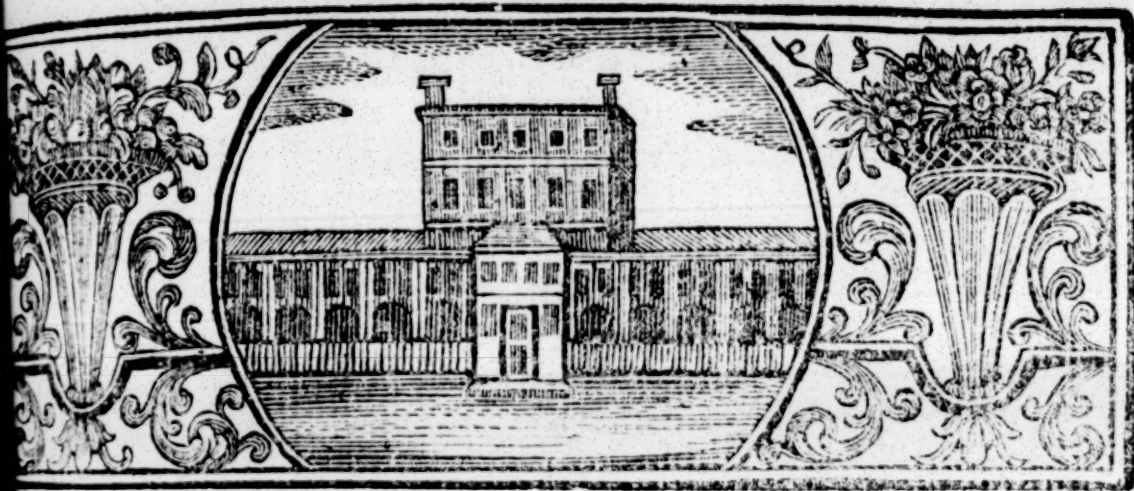
Rock-Parley. On St. Vincent's rock, near Bristol.

Wild-madder. On St. Vincent's rock. This hath been mistaken for the common manured Madder, from which it is specifically distinct.

Small Sengrene of St. Vincent's-rock. The title directs to the place.



OXFORDSHIRE.



## OXFORDSHIRE.

THE county of Oxford, called by the Saxons Oxna-fordscyre, Oxenfordscyre, and Oxenfordſchyre, commonly Oxfordshire, did, as I observ'd before, belong to the Dobuni. On the West it borders upon Gloucestershire; on the south, where it is broadest, the river Isis divides it from Barkshire; on the east it is bounded by Bucks; and upon the north, where it ends as it were in a cone, on the one side Northamptonshire, and on the other Warwickshire. It is a rich fertile country; the lower parts are cultivated into pleasant fields and meadows, and the hills were covered with great store of wood, till late civil wars, in which it was destroyed to such a degree, that places, except the Chiltern-country, can answer that character at present; fuel in those parts being so scarce, that it is commonly sold by weight, not only in Oxford, but other towns in the northern parts of the shire. Nor is it only fruitful in grass and corn, but abounds with all sorts of game both for hunting and hawking, and rivers well stock'd

stock'd with fish. The Isis (afterwards called Tamisis) in a long course washeth the south side of this county. Cherwell, a small river abounding with fish, after it has divided this shire for some space from that of Northampton, flows gently through the middle of the county, and divides it as it were into two equal parts. The river Tame waters and fructifies the eastern parts; till at last both these rivers, with several other little streams, are received into the Isis.

The Isis, when it has just touch'd upon Wiltshire, is, at its first entrance into this county, straiten'd by Rodcot-bridge; whence it passes by Bablac, famous for Robert de Vere the great earl of Oxford, marquis of Dublin, and duke of Ireland; who, being highly in favour and authority with king Richard II. and for that reason no less envied and hated by his fellow-barons, has taught us this lesson, That no power has force enough to secure those who enjoy it. For he, being here defeated in a skirmish with the nobles,\* was constrain'd to take the river, and swim for his life, which was the sad catastrophe of all his greatness and glory: for he presently fled the realm, and died in banishment. In the poem of the marriage of Tame and Isis we have the verses of him:

— *Hic Verus notissimus apro,  
Dum dare terga negat virtus, & tendere contra  
Non sinit invictæ reſtrix prudentia mentis;  
Undique dum resonat repetitis ictibus umbo,  
Tinnituque strepit circum sua tempora cassis,  
Se dedit in fluvium, fluvius lætatus & illo  
Hospite, suscepit saluum, saluumque remisit.*

Here Oxford's hero famous for his † boar,  
While valour prompts behind, and prudence calls before;  
While clashing swords upon his target sound,  
And showers of arrows from his breast rebound,  
Prepar'd for worst of fates, undaunted stood,  
And urg'd his beast into the rapid flood:  
The waves in triumph bore him, and were proud  
To sink beneath their honourable load.

\* Anno 1387.

† A Boar is the Crest of the Family of Vere

After this, the Isis, frequently overflowing the lower grounds, receives its first addition from Windrush, a small brook, which flows out of the Cotswold, and salutes Burford standing on the banks of it, in Saxon Beorgford, and Beorford, where Cuthred king of the West-Saxons, then tributary to the Mercians, not being able to endure any longer the cruelty and intolerable exactions of king Æthelbald, met him in the open field with an army, and beat him; taking his standard, in which, we read, was the pourtraicture of a golden dragon. From hence, the Windrush runs to Minster-Lovel, heretofore the seat of the lords Lovel of Tichemersh, who, being descended from one Lupel a noble Norman, did long bear a considerable figure in these parts, and received great additions to their fortune, by matches with the heirs-female of Tichemersh, of the lords Holland, of D'eyncourt, and of the viscount Beaumont. But this family was extinct in Francis viscount Lovel, lord chamberlain to king Richard the third, who was banished by Henry the seventh, and at last slain in the battle of Stoke, taking part with Lambert the impostor prince. His sister Fridiswide was grandmother to Henry, the first lord Norris. Passing hence, the Windrush visits Whitney an ancient town, which before the conquest belonged to the bishop of Winchester; being given by Alwin, bishop thereof (among the other manours bestowed upon that church) on account of Emma's being clear'd, by Fire-ordeal, of the charge of adultery with him. In the year 1171, it was given by Henry, bishop of that see, to his new-founded hospital of St. Cross. For the settling of a free-school at this place, erected and endowed by Henry Box, citizen of London, a particular statute passed in the 15th year of king Charles II.

Near adjoining, is Coges, the head of the barony of Arsic, the lords of which, descended from the earls of Oxford, have been long since extinct. Hard by, Wichwood forest is of a large extent, and yet the bounds of it were once much wider: For king Richard III. disforested a great part of Wichwood between Woodstock and Brightlow, which king Edward IV. had taken into the limits of that forest, as we are informed by John Rous of Warwick. The river Isis, when it has receiv'd the Windrush, passes to Stanton Harcourt, the ancient seat of the Harcourts, who are descended from the Harcourts in Normandy; and of whom, in our time, Sir Simon Harcourt hath been advanced to the honour of baron Harcourt of Stanton Harcourt, and also to the office of lord high chancellor of Great-Britain, on account of his extraordinary abilities; more especially, of his great knowledge in the laws and consti-

constitutions of this realm. Next, the river goes to Einsham, in Saxen Eignesham and Eignesham, formerly a royal vill, seated among most delightful meadows. This place, among other garrisons in those parts Cuthwulph the Saxon first took from the conquer'd Britains; Æthelma a nobleman adorned it with a monastery, which Ethelred king of England, in the year 1005 confirmed, calling this in the charter a famous place, and signed the privilege of liberty (to keep to the words of the charter) with the sign of the holy cross. But this house of religion was turned into a private seat, which belonged to the earl of Derby. Below Einsham, the Evenlode, a small rivulet, runs into the Isis; which flowing from the Cotswold, first sees Chastleton, near which is a fortification, that the learned Dr. Plot imagines might be cast up about the year 1016, when Edmund Ironside met Canute the Dane; but if that conjecture be built purely upon its being near the Four-shire-stone (which generally goes for the old Sceorstan, where the battle was fought) the place of the battle being (\* as it probably ought) removed from this place, that opinion is destroyed. It leaves, in the utmost borders of this county, a little further from its banks, a great monument of antiquity; a number of vastly large stones placed in a circular figure, which the country people call Rolle-rich-stones, and have a fond tradition, that they were once men, and were turned into stones. They are irregular, and of an unequal height, and by the decays of time are grown ragged, and very much impair'd. The highest of them, which lies out of the ring toward the east, they call The King; because they fancy he should have been king of England, if he could have seen Long-Compton, a village which is within view at a very few steps farther: five larger stones, which on one side of the circle are contiguous to one another, they pretend were knights or horsemen, and the other common soldiers. But to pass by such idle fancies, one may imagine this monument to have been raised in memory of some victory obtained here, perhaps by Rolló the Dane, who afterward possessed himself of Normandy. For, at the same time that he with his Danes and Normans infested England with depredations, we read that the Danes and Saxons had an engagement at Hokenorton, and another at Scierstane in Huiccia, which I should take for that great boundary stone that stands hard by, and divides four counties or shires, for so the Saxon word Scierstane plainly intimates.

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\* See *Sherston* in *Wiltshire*.

The common story before-mention'd, which goes current among the people, tho' it be upon the whole ridiculous enough, yet may it (as we very often find in such traditional tales) have something of truth at the bottom. For why may not that large stone at a little distance, which they call the King, be the Kongstolen, belonging to the circle of stones raised usually for the coronation of the Northern kings (as Wormius inform us :) especially since the learned \* Dr. Plot has observed from the same Wormius, that this Kongstolen, tho' ordinarily in the middle, was sometimes at a distance from the circle? Not far from hence, in the fields of Stanton-Harcourt, stood two great stones, called the Devil's Coits; 65 paces distant from one another; but one of them was taken down, several years since to make a bridge.

As to Hokenorton, the inhabitants were formerly such clowns and churls, that it passed into a proverb, for a rude and ill-bred fellow, to be born at Hog s-Norton. But this place is chiefly memorable for the fatal slaughter of the English in a fight with the Danes, under Edmund the elder. It was afterward a barony of the D'oilys, an honourable and ancient family of Normandy. The first of that name who came into England, was Robert de Oily, who, for his great service in that expedition, was rewarded by William the Conqueror with this village and many other lands, some of which he gave to his sworn brother Roger Ivery, and not John de Eiverio, as Leland, and after him Dugdale, name him; and this part was afterwards the barony of St. Wary. But this Robert dying without issue male, his brother Nigel succeeded in his estate, whose son, Robert the second, was founder of the monastery of Osney. At length, an heir female of this family of D'oily was married to Henry earl of Warwick, by whom she had Thomas earl of Warwick, who died without issue in the reign of Henry III. and Margaret, who died likewise without issue, tho' she had two husbands, John Mareschal and John de Plessets, both earls of Warwick. Upon this (as the charter of donation runs) king Henry III. granted Hokenorton and Cudlington to John de Plessets or Plessy, which were the inheritance of Henry D'oily, and fell into the king's hands upon the death of Margaret countess of Warwick, wife of the aforesaid John, as an escheat of the lands of the Normans, to have and to hold till such time as the lands of England and Normandy should be made common. But of this ancient and honourable family of D'oily, there re-

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\* See Nat. Hist. Oxon. p. 342.

mains still a branch in this county, who have the honour of being knights and baronets.

Evenlode runs by no other place remarkable, but a little lower takes in a small brook, upon which is seated Woodstock, in Saxon Wude stock, that is, a woody place, where king Etheldred heretofore held an assembly of the states, and enacted several laws. Here is a magnificent palace built by king Henry I. who adjoin'd thereto a large park inclosed with a wall of stone; which John Rous affirms to have been the first park in England, tho' we meet with these words "*parca sylvestris bestiarum*" more than once in Domesday-book. But afterward they increased to so great a number, that there were computed more in England, than in all the Christian world besides; so great delight did our ancestors take, in this noble sport of hunting.

Our histories report, that king Henry II. being deeply enamour'd with Rosamund Clifford (whose extraordinary beauty, and other accomplishments, drove the thoughts of all other women from his heart) and made her commonly called *Rosa Mundi*, the rose of the world; to secure her from the restless jealousy of his Juno Queen, built in this place a labyrinth, where the many windings and turnings made an intricate maze; yet, at present we see no remains of it.

Thus, the park and manour of Woodstock continued in the crown till the fourth year of Q. Anne; in which her Majesty granted the interest of the crown in the honour and manour of Woodstock and hundred of Wotton, to John D. of Marlborough and his heirs, as a reward of his eminent and unparallel'd services (as they are styled by the voice of the nation, in parliament) and for perpetuating the memory thereof.

As to the town of Woodstock; it was chiefly supported by the resort of our kings and queens thither; but that resort being disused, it fell to decay; in consideration whereof, and for the recovery of it, a statute passed in parliament, in the 18th year of Q. Elizabeth, to make it a staple of Wools. Having \* now nothing else to be proud of, it boasts of the honour of being the birth-place of our English Homer, *Jeffrey Chaucer*: To whom, and some other of our English poets, I may apply what the learned Italian sung of Homer and other Greeks,

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\* So said anno 1607.

—— *Hic ille est, cujus de gurgite sacro  
Combibit arcanos vatuni omnis turba furores.*

This he, to whose immortal spring of wit  
Each water poet owes his rivulet.

For he, defying every rival in wit, and leaving all our poetasters at a long distance behind him,

—— *Jam monte potitus,  
Ridet antelantem dura ad fastigia turbam.*

Sits down in triumph on the conquer'd height,  
And smiles to see unequal rivals sweat.

Of late years also, this town hath given the title of viscount to William Bentinck, who was created, at the same time, earl of Portland.

The Isis, when it has taken-in the Evenlode, divides its chanel, and cuts out many pleasant islands, among which stood Godstow, i. e. the place of God, a nunnery said to be founded by one Ida, a rich widow, and to have been improved and endowed by king John, to the intent who e holy virgins might, according to the devotion of that age, pray for the souls of king Henry II. his father, and Rosamund: for she was buried here with this rhyming epitaph:

*Hic jacet in tumba Rosa mundi, non Rosa munda,  
Non redolet, sed olet, quæ redolere solet.*

Rose of the world, not Rose the fresh pure flow'r,  
Within this tomb hath taken up her bow'r;  
She scenteth now, and nothing sweet doth smell,  
Which earst was wont to favour passing well.

But the name of the foundress was really Editha, an eminent and devout matron, who, upon a plot of ground given by John de St. John, erected it at her own charge; and at the latter end of December, in the year 1138. it was dedicated by Alexander bishop of Lincoln, to the honour of the Virgin Mary and St. John Baptist. The additional endow-

ment, by king John, before-mentioned, may also probably be a mistake for Richard I. who, we find, in the first year of his reign, gave a large charter to this abbey.

The Isis, before its streams are again united, meets with Cherwell which, coming out of Northamptonshire, flows almost through the middle of this county. It first waters Banbury, formerly Banesbury, where Kynric the West-Saxon is said to have overcome the poor Britains, fighting stoutly for their lives and liberties, in a memorable battle. In the last age, save one, Richard Nevil earl of Warwick, fighting for the Lancastrian interest, gave such an absolute defeat to the York party, near this place, that he soon after took the distressed king Edward IV. and carried him off prisoner. The town, at present, is most famous for making good cheese. It has a castle, built by Alexander bishop of Lincoln (for this manour belonged to that see) who in his way of living consulted state and grandeur, more than ease and safety, and brought very many mischiefs on himself by his vain and expensive buildings. Give me leave to add one remark; that the coins of Roman emperors, found here and in the fields adjoining, are a fair argument for the antiquity of this place. In the year 1626. William lord Knollys of Grays-Court, viscount Walsingham, was created earl of Banbury.

I must not here pass by Broughton, the seat of Richard Fienes or Fenis, to whom, and to the heirs of his body, king James I. in the first year of his reign, granted and confirmed the name, stile, title, degree, dignity, and honour of baron Say and Sele; he being descended in a right line from James Fienes lord Say and Sele, who was high-treasurer of England in the reign of Henry VI. The Cherwell, for many miles after it has left Banbury, sees nothing but well cultivated fields, and delightful meadows: among which stands Illip, formerly Ghislippe, the birth-place of king Edward (whom, for his piety and chastity, our ancestors honoured with the title of Confessor) as he himself witnesses in his original charter, whereby he gives this his manour to the church of Westminster. Near this is Helindon, which king John gave for a barony to Thomas Bassett.

At Illip, the Cherwell is joined from the east with a small brook which runs by Burcester, in Saxon Burenceaster, and Bern-ceaster: a town of ancient name. but where I have observed nothing of English antiquity; only, that Gilbert Bassett, and Egeline de Courney his wife in the reign of Henry II. built here a little monastery in honour of St. Mary and Edburg; the memory of the latter being still preserved in

St. Edburg's well, and Tadbury-walk, corruptly for the Edbury-walk : and that the barons Le Strange, of Knocking, were \* lately lords of this place.

Towards the west, are some few remains of an old deserted station, which they call Allchester, perhaps instead of Aldchester, or the old Castrum. Through this camp is a military way, from Wallingford, as the neighbours believe, to Danbury. They call this Akeman-street-way, a ridge whereof is said to appear for some miles together on the deep plains of Otmore, often overflowed in winter.

At a little distance is Weston on the green, the seat of a branch of the family of Noris ; and Merton, where was found a Danish spur, answering the figure of that in Olaus Wormius ; which, together with the meeting of two military ways near it, induced a late author to believe, that this is the very place where Æthelred and Ælfred fought with the Danes, in the year 871.

But where the Cherwell flows along with the Isis, and meets it ; and where their divided streams make several little sweet and pleasant islands ; is seated on a rising vale the most famous university of Oxford, in Saxon Oxenford : our most noble Athens, the seat of our English mules, the prop and the pillar, nay the sun, the eye, the very soul of the nation : The most celebrated fountain of wisdom and learning, from whence religion, letters, and good manners, are plentifully diffused through the whole kingdom. A delicate and most beautiful city, whether we respect the neatness of private buildings, or the state-lines of publick structures, or the healthy and pleasant situation. For the plain on which it stands, is walled in, as it were with hills of wood, which keeping out on one side the pestilential south-wind, and on the other the tempestuous west, admit only the purifying east, and the north, which disperses all unwholesome vapours. From which delightful situation, authors tell us, it was heretofore called Bellositum. Some writers fancy that this city, in the British times, had the name of Caer-Vorigen and Caer-Vember, and that it was built by God knows what Vorigerns or Mempricks. Whatever it's name was under the Britains, it is certain the Saxons called it Oxenford ; in the same sense, no doubt, as the Grecians had their Bosphorus, and the Germans their Ochensfurt upon the river Oder ; that is, a ford of oxen. In which sense, it is still called by the Welsh, Rhid-Ychen. Yet Ieland, with

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\* So said anno 1607.

some shew of probability, derives the name from the river Ous, in Latin Isis, and believes it to have been heretofore called Ousford; since the little islands, which the river here makes, are called Ousney.

Wise antiquity (as we read in our chronicles) did even in the British age consecrate this place to the muses; whom they transplanted hither, as to a more fertile nursery, from Greek-lade, now a small town in Wiltshire. Alexander Necham writes thus, "Italy challenges the glory of civil law; divinity and the liberal arts make Paris preferable to all other cities; wisdom also, and learning, have long flourished at Oxford; and according to the prophecy of Merlin, shall in due time pass from thence to Ireland." But in the Saxon age (remarkable for the continual ruin and subversion of towns and cities) this place underwent the common fate; and, during many years, was famous for nothing but the reliques of St. Frideswide, a virgin of great esteem for the sanctity of her life, and first repured a saint on this occasion: When by a solemn vow she had devoted herself to the service of God and a single life, earl Algar courted her for a wife, and pursuing her, was miraculously, as the story goes, struck blind. This lady (as we read in William of Malmesbury) built here a religious house, as a trophy of her preserv'd virginity; into which monastery, when, in the time of Ethe red, several Danes sentenced to death were fled for refuge: the enraged Saxons burnt them and the house together. But afterwards the penitent king cleansed the sanctuary, rebuilt the monastery, restored the old endowment, and added new possessions: and at last Roger bishop of Salisbury gave the place to one Wimund, a very learned canon regular, who there settled a perpetual society of such regular canons for the service of God; and became the first prior of them. But, leaving these matters, let us return to the university. The Danish storms being pretty well blown over, that pious prince king Ælfred restored the Muses\* (who had suffered a long exile) to their former habitation, and built three colleges, one for Grammarians, another for philosophers, and a third for divinity. Of which, John Roule of Warwick gives this account; that the first was founded at the east end of High-street, endowed with competent salaries for 26 Grammarians, and called Little-University-Hall: the second in School-street, for the maintenance of 26 students in logic and philosophy, and called the Less-University-Hall: and the third in High-street, near to the first, but

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\* In the year of our Lord 886.

higher to the west, with endowment for 26 divines, and called Great-University Hall, now University-College. But you have a yet larger account of this, in the old annals of the monastery of Winchester : In the year of our lord DCCCVI, in the second year of St. Grimbald's coming over into England, the University of Oxford was founded ; the first regents there, and readers in divinity, were St. Neot an abbot and eminent professor of theology, and S. Grimbald an eloquent and most excellent interpreter of the holy scriptures : grammar and rhetorick were taught by Asserius a monk, a man of extraordinary learning : logic, musick, and arithmetick, were read by John, Monk of St. Davids : geometry and astronomy were profess'd by John a monk and colleague of St. Grimbald, a man of a sharp wit and immense knowledge. These lectures were often honour'd with the presence of the most illustrious and invincible monarch king Ælfred, whose memory to every judicious taste shall be always sweeter than honey. Soon after this, as we read in a very fair MS. copy of that Asserius, who was himself at the same time a professor in this place ; (\* or of some other writer, of later date) There arose a sharp and grievous dissention between Grymbold and those learned men whom he brought hither with him, and the old scholars whom he found here at his coming ; for these absolutely refus'd to comply with the statutes, institutions, and forms of reading, prescrib'd by Grymbold. The difference proceeded to no great height for the space of three years, yet there was always a private grudge and enmity between them, which soon after broke out with the greatest violence imaginable. To appease these tumults, the most invincible, king Ælfred being inform'd of the faction by a message and complaint from Grymbold, came to Oxford with design to accommodate matters, and submitted to a great deal of pains and patience to hear the cause and complaint of both parties. The controversy depended upon this ; The old scholars maintained, that before the coming of Grymbold to Oxford, learning did here flourish, tho' the students were then less in number than they had formerly been, by reason that very many of them had been expelled by the cruel tyranny of Pagan. They further declared and proved, and this by the undoubted testimony of their ancient annals, that good orders and constitutions for the government of that place had been made before by men of great piety and learning, such as Gildas, Melkin, Ninnius, Kentigern, and others, who had there prosecuted their studies even to old age, and managed all things happily with peace and quiet : and that St. German coming to Oxford, and residing there a year, what time he went through all England to preach down the Pe-

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\* Usser. Primord. p. 184.

lagian heresy, did exceedingly approve of their rules and orders. The king, with incredible humility, and great attention, heard out both parties, earnestly exhorting them with pious and healing entreaties, to preserve love and unity with one another. Upon this, he left them, in hopes that both parties would follow his advice, and obey his instructions. But Gymbold resenting the proceedings, retired immediately to the monastery at Winchester, which king Ælfred had lately founded: and soon after, he got his tomb to be removed thither to him; in which he had designed his bones should be put after his decease. This was in a vault under the chancel of the church of St. Peters in Oxford; which church the said Gymbold had raised from the ground, of stones hewn and carved with great art and beauty.

The happy restoration of learning receiv'd two or three interruptions in the space of a few years. For in the reign of king E. heldred, the Danes sack'd and burn'd the city: And soon after, Harold fir-nam'd Harefoot, was so incens'd against the place for the death of some of his friends in a tumult, and prosecuted his revenge in so barbarous a manner, that the scholars were miserably driven from their studies; and the university, a sad spectacle, lay as it were expiring, till the time of the Conquerour; when (as some say) he also besieg'd and took this city: but those who write so, may possibly have been impos'd on by reading in faulty copies Oxonia instead of Exonia. And that it was even then a place of study, we may learn from the express words of Ingulphus, who flourish'd in that age: "I Ingulph being first placed at Westminster, was afterward removed to the study of Oxford, where, in the learning of Aristotle, I improved beyond most of those who were of equal years with me, &c. For what we now call universities they call'd studies, as I shall by and by observe; and, tho' some have doubted, whether this passage was genuine, the \* editors of Ingulphus found it in all the copies. However, about this time the city was so impoverished, that whereas (according to the general Survey) there were reckon'd within and without the walls 750 houses, besides 24 mansions upon the walls, 500 of them were not able to pay the geld or tax: When (to speak from the authority of the same Domesday-book) this city paid for toll and gable, and other customs, yearly to the king, twenty pounds and six sextaries of honey, and to earl Algar ten pounds. A little while after, Robert de Oily, a noble Norman before-mention'd, when for the reward of his services he had received from the Conquer-

For a large portion of lands in this county; he did by order of the king, who doubted of the fidelity of those part, build a castle on the west side of the city, in the year 1072, fortified with large trenches and rampires; and in it a parish-church dedicated to St. George; to which the parishioners not having free access, when the empress Maud was closely besieged in this castle by King Stephen, the chapel of St. Thomas hard by (westward from the castle) was built for that purpose. He is supposed likewise to have surrounded the city with new walls, which age is now wearing away apace. Robert his nephew, son of his brother Nigel, chamberlain to king Henry I. by persuasion of his wife Edith, daughter of Furn, who had formerly been concubine to that prince, did, in the island-meadows nigh the castle, build Osney abbey, which the ruins of the walls still shew to have been very large.

At the same time, as we read in the register of the said abbey of Osney, Robert Pulein began to read the holy scriptures at Oxford, which were before grown almost out of use in England. This person, after he had much profited the English and French churches by his good doctrine, was invited to Rome by pope Lucius II. and promoted to the dignity of chancellor of that see. To the same purpose, John Rous of Warwick writes thus. "By the care of king Henry I. the lecture of divinity, which had been long intermitted, began again to flourish, and this prince built there a new palace, which was afterward converted, by king Edward II. into a convent for Carmelite friers." But long before this conversion, there was born in that palace the truly lion-hearted prince, king Richard I. commonly called Cœur de Lion, monarch of a great and elevated soul, born for the glory of England and protection of the Christian world, and for the terror and confusion of Pagans and infidels. Upon whose death a poet of that age has these tolerable verses:

*Viscera Carleolum, corpus Fons servat Ebrardi,  
Et cor Rothomagum, magne Richarde, tuum.  
In tria dividitur unus, qui plus fuit uno,  
Nec superest uno gloria tanta viro.*

*Hic Richarde jaces, sed mors si cederet armis,  
Victa timore tui, cederet ipsa tuis.*

Great Richard's body's at Pontevault shown,  
His bowels at Ca lise, his head at Roan.  
He now makes three, because too great for one.

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Richard lies dead; but death had fear'd his power,  
Could this proud tyrant own a conqueror.

Upon the ground of the chamber wherein this prince was born, the Carmelites built a belfrey and tower, of which they used to boast, as the place of his nativity.

The city being thus adorned with buildings, many students began to flock hither as to the common mart of learning and virtue. So the learning here quickly reviv'd, chiefly through the care of the forelate Robert Pulein, a man born to promote the interest of the learned world, who spared no trouble nor pains to cleanse and open the fountains of the Muses (which had been so miserably dried and obstructed under the favour and protection of king Henry I. king Henry II. and Richard his son, whom I mentioned just now. And he met with no success in his endeavours, that in the reign of king John there were 3000 students in this place, who went away all together, some to Reading, and some to Cambridge, Maidstone, Salisbury, and other place when they could no longer bear the abuses of the rude and insolent citizens; but when these tumults were appeased, they soon are returned.

Then, and in the times following, as divine providence seemed to set apart this city for a seat of the Muses, so did the same providence raise up a great number of excellent princes and prelates, who exerted their piety and bounty in this place for the promoting and encouragement of arts and good literature. And when king Henry III. came hither and visited the shrine of St. Frideswide, which was before thought a dangerous crime in any prince, and so took away that superstitious fear which had before hindered several kings from entering within the walls of Oxford: He here convened a parliament, to adjust the differences between him and the barons, and at that time confirmed the privileges granted to the university by his predecessors, and added some new ones of his own. After which, the number of learned men so far increased as to afford a constant supply of persons qualified with divine and human knowledge, for the discharge of offices in church and state. So the

Matthew Paris expressly calls Oxford, The second school of the church after Paris, nay the very foundation of the church. For the popes of Rome had before honoured this place with the title of an university; which, at that time, in their decretals, they allowed only to Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca. And in the council of Vienna, it was determined, That schools for the Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldean tongues should be erected in the studies of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca (as the most eminent) that the knowledge of those languages might be hereby propagated and encouraged: and that out of men of the Catholick communion, furnished with sufficient abilities, two should be chosen for the profession of each tongue. For the maintenance of which professors in Oxford, all the prelates in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, and all monasteries, chapters, convents, colleges, exempt and not exempt, and all rectors of parish-churches, should make a yearly contribution. In which words one may easily observe, that Oxford was the chief school in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland; and that those places which we now call academies and universities, were in former ages fitly called studies: as St. Hierom speaks of the flourishing studies of France. For the name of university, for publick schools of learning, obtained first about the reign of king Henry III. and, if I am not mistaken, this word did not at first so much signify the place of study, as the society of students. But perhaps this may seem out of my road.

Now, the worthy patrons and favourers of learning began to furnish the city and suburbs with stately colleges, halls, and schools, and to endow them with ample revenues; (for before this time, the greatest part of the university stood without North-gate:) In the reign of king Henry III. John Baliol of Bernard-castle, who died in the year 1269, father of John Baliol king of Scots, founded Baliol college, and gave name to it. Soon after, Walter Merton, bishop of Rochester, transferred the college which he had built at Maldon in Surrey, in the year 1264, to Oxford (viz. to St. John Baptist-street) ann. 1267; which he endowed, and called Merton-college. Then William archdeacon of Durham repaired and restored the foundation of king Alfred; now called University-college.

About the time of the said restoration, the scholars having been somewhat rude to Otto the Pope's legate (or rather his horse-leach, sent hither to suck the blood of the poor people) they were excommunicated, and treated with great severity. At which time, as Richard

of Armagh tells us, there were reckoned in this university no less than thirty thousand students.

Under Edward II. Walter Stapledon bishop of Exeter built Exeter-college and Hart-hall.

The same king Edward II. after his example, built a royal college, commonly called Oriel, and St. Mary-hall.

About \* this time, the Hebrew tongue began to be read by a Jewish convert, for whose stipend every clerk in Oxford contributed one penny for every mark of his ecclesiastical revenue.

After this, Q. Philippa, wife of king Edward III. built Queen's-college. Also Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, built Canterbury-college.

The scholars now abounding in peace and plenty, grew insolent and divided into the factions of the Northern and Southern men, carrying-on the quarrel with open arms and all manner of hostility: upon which the Northern men retired to Stanford; and began to set up publick schools there. But after a few years, when the storm was blown over, and the feuds forgot, they all returned hither, and statutes were enacted to prohibit all persons from professing at Stanford, to the prejudice of Oxford.

About that time, William Wickham, bishop of Winchester, built a magnificent structure, called New-college, (into which the richest scholars are every year transplanted from his other college at Winchester. Then Richard Angervil, bishop of Durham, called Philobiblos, or The lover of books, began a publick library. His successor Thoma de Hamme built Durham-college, for the benefit of the monks at Durham. Richard Fleming, bishop of Lincoln, founded Lincoln-college.

About the same time, the Benedictine monks (as is commonly said) built Gloucester-college at their own proper cost and charges, where were constantly maintained two or three monks of every house of the order, who afterwards were to be readers or professors in their respective convents.

To say nothing of the canons of St. Frideswide, there were erected no less than four beautiful cells of friars in the suburbs, wherein there often flourished men of considerable learning.

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\* In the year 1318.

In the next age, during the reign of king Henry V. Henry Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury, founded two eminent colleges; one of which he dedicated to the memory of All-Souls.

Not long after, William Wainfleet, bishop of Winchester, erected Magdalen-college, remarkable for the building, and fine situation, and pleasure of the adjoining groves and walks.

At the same time, the Divinity-school was erected: a work of such admirable contrivance and beauty, that the saying of Xenius may justly be inscribed upon it, "It is more easy to envy than to imitate this work." Over this school was a library, furnished with 129 choice volumes, procured from Italy at the great expence of Humphrey duke of Gloucester, a chief patron and admirer of learning. Besides which number, valued at above 1000 l. he gave 126 volumes more in the year 1440, and in 1443 a much greater number, besides considerable additions at his death, three years after.

However, most of these books are long since embezzled and converted to private uses. But since (may all happiness attend it) the worthy Sir Thomas Bodley, Kt. formerly a member of this university, with extraordinary charge and indefatigable pains, furnished a new library in the same place, with the best books procured from all parts of the world: that the university might enjoy a publick arsenal of wisdom; and himself, immortal honour. And since it was a good custom of the ancients, in all their libraries to erect statues of gold, silver, or brass, both to those who had instituted them, and those who had adorned them with excellent writings, that time and age might not triumph over their memories, and that the curiosity of mankind might be satisfied, while they enquired after them and their characters: For this reason, the chancellor of the university, at the same time providing for the memorial of himself, did in this library erect a statue of Sir Thomas Bodley, that great friend and patron of learning, with this inscription:

THOMAS SACKVILIUS DORSETTIÆ COMES, SUMMUS AN-  
GLIÆ THESAURARIUS, ET HUIUS ACADEMIÆ  
CANCELLARIUS,  
THOMÆ BODLEIO EQUITI AURATO, QUI BIBLIOTHECAM  
HANC INSTITUIT, HONORIS CAUSSA PIE POSUIT.

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\* *Vide* Plin. lib. 35. cap. 2.

In English, thus :

THOMAS SACKVIL, EARL OF DORSET, LORD HIGH TREASURER OF ENGLAND, AND CHANCELLOR OF THIS UNIVERSITY,  
PIOUSLY ERECTED THIS MONUMENT, TO THE HONOUR OF THOMAS BODLEY KNIGHT, WHO INSTITUTED THIS LIBRARY.

Very lately, Dr. John Radcliffe, a physician of great eminence, hath by will left the sum of 40,000 l. for the building of another public library, between the university church, and the publick schools; together with an honourable salary of one hundred and fifty pounds a year to a keeper of the said library, and one hundred pounds a year for ever, to buy books for the same.

In the reign of Henry VIII. for the further advancement of learning, William Smith bishop of Lincoln, and William Sutton, Esq; built Brazen-nose-college; which, in the year 1572 was endowed by that pious and good old man Alexander Nowell, dean of St. Pauls. About the same time, Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, founded Corpus-Christi college.

After these, cardinal Wolsey, archbishop of York, on the site of the monastery of St. Frideswide, began the most noble and ample foundation of all others, which king Henry VIII. with the addition of Canterbury-college, did richly endow, and gave it the name of Christ-church. The same mighty prince Henry, at the expence of his own exchequer, honoured the city with an episcopal see, and the university with publick professors. And, that the Muses might still be courted with greater favours, Sir Thomas Pope, Kt. repaired Durham-college, and Sir Thomas White, Kt. citizen and alderman of London, Leonard-college (both which lay almost buried in their own dust) and enlarged the buildings, and endowed them with lands, and gave them new names, dedicating the former to the Holy Trinity, the latter to St. John Baptist.

Queen Mary built from the ground the publick schools. But the present fabrick, which makes a stately quadrangle, was raised by the contribution of Sir Thomas Bodley, and other benefactors, in the year 1613.

Hugh Price, Dr. of Laws, treasurer of the church of St. David's, happily laid a new foundation, called, in honour of our Saviour, Jesus college.

These colleges, in number nineteen, besides six halls, all fairly built, and well endowed, together with their excellent and useful libraries, do so raise the credit and esteem of Oxford, that it may be justly thought to exceed all the universities in the world.

But above all other buildings, this university justly boasts of Sheldon's Theatre, a work of a mirable contrivance, and exceeding magnificence, built by the most Reverend Father in God Gilbert Sheldon archbishop of Canterbury, and chancellor of this university, in the year 1668.

On the west side of the Theatre, stands Ashmole's Museum, a neat and curious edifice, of which the lower part is a chymical laboratory, and the first floor on a noble ascent a spacious hall, and the upper-chamber a repository of natural and artificial curiosities. Nigh to which publick buildings, is lately added a large and stately Printing-house, furnished with all accommodations suitable to the design.

And when we are recounting the noble conveniencies for learning, with which this university is adorned, we must not omit the Physick-garden, founded by Henry Danvers, earl of Danby, in the year 1632, and by him endowed with an annual revenue, for the maintenance and keeping thereof. This contains a vast variety of plants; and is of great use to all persons, who desire to improve them selves in Botanical knowledge.

Nor does Oxford yield the precedence to any other university in living libraries (for so with Eunapius I may term persons of profound learning) nor in the admirable method of teaching all arts and sciences, nor in excellent discipline, and a most regular government of the whole body. But why this digression. Oxford is very far from standing in need of a panegyric, having already gained the universal esteem and admiration of the world. Nor would I by any means seem extravagant in the commendation of my mother-university. Let it suffice to say of Oxford, what Pomponius said of Athens, "It is so eminent that there needs no pointing at it." The Oxford astronomers observe this city to be in 22 degrees of longitude, or distance from the Fortunate islands; and in the northern latitude of fifty-one degrees and fifty minutes.

As soon as Isis and Cherwell have join'd their streams below Oxford, the Isis with a swift and deeper current passes on to the south, to join out the Tame, which it seems long to have sought for. Nor does it run many miles, before the said Tame, rising in the county of Ludlow, comes and joins it; which river, at the entrance into this county, gives its own name to a market-town of pleasant situation among rivers: for the river Tame washes the north part of the town, and two little brooks shut it in on the east and west sides. This place has been in a flourishing condition, ever since Henry bishop of Lincoln, in the reign of Henry the third, brought the great road, which lay below the town, through the middle of it. Alexander, that munificent bishop of Lincoln, lord of this manor, to alleviate the general odium he had contracted by his extravagant expences in building castles, refunded here a small monastery of the Cistercian order. And many years after, the Quatermans, a family in former times of great repute in these parts, built here an hospital for the maintenance of poor people. But neither of these foundations are at present to be seen; however, instead of them Sir John Williams, Kt. (advanced to the dignity of a peer of this realm by Queen Mary, under the title of baron Williams of Tame) founded here a beautiful school, and a small alms-house.

From hence the Tame runs near Ricot, a neat seat, which belonged formerly to the Quatermans, upon whose failure of issue-male, it was sold away by the Fowlers and Hernes, till it came at last into the hands of the lord Williams before-mentioned, and by his daughter to the lord Henry Norris, whom queen Elizabeth advanced to the dignity of a peer, by the title of baron Norris of Ricot; a person eminent for his honorable descent, (being derived from the Lovels, who were allied to most of the great families in England) and much more eminent for his stout and martial sons, whose valour and conduct are sufficiently known in Holland, Portugal, Bretagne, and Ireland.

The next place visited by the Tame is Dorchester, called by Bede Civitas Dorcinia, and by Leland Hydropolis, which is a name of his own invention, but well adapted to the nature of the place. Denoting water in the British tongue. That this was formerly a station of the Romans, several of their coins, found frequently in this place, do sufficiently attest. Our histories tell us, it was long famous for a bishop's see, founded by Birinus the apostle of the West-Saxons; who having baptized Cinigilse a petty king of the West-Saxons (to whom Oswald king of Northumberland was godfather) the two kings (as Bede tells us) gave the bishop this city, to constitute here his episcopal see. This

Birinus

Birinus (as we learn from the said Bede) was esteemed in that age a miracle for piety and strictness of life; whence a poet of some antiquity, who wrote his life in verse, does thus extoll him:

*Dignior attolli quam sit Tyrinthius heros,  
Quam sit Alexander Macedo; Tyrinthius hostes  
Vicit, Alexander mundum, Birinus utrunque.  
Nec tantum vicit mundum Birinus, & hostem,  
Sed sese bello vincens, & victus eodem.*

Alcides less than thee shall men proclaim,  
And Alexander own thy greater fame,  
Tho' that his foes, and this the world o'ercame.  
With foes and world Birinus did subdue  
Himself, the vanquish'd and the victor too.

This see, after 460 years continuance (lest the name and authority of a bishop might grow contemptible from so mean and inconsiderable a place: against which mischief a canon had then been newly made) was translated to Lincoln by Remigius, in the time of William the Conqueror. At which time (says William of Malmesbury, who flourished in that age) Dorchester was a small and unfrequented village, yet the beauty and state of its churches was very remarkable, as well for the ancient work, as the present care taken of them. From that time, it began sensibly to decay; and the great road to London, which lay through the town, being turn'd another way, it is so weaken'd and impoverish'd, that tho' it was formerly a city, it now scarce deserves the name of a town. Nor has it any thing to boast of but the ruins of its former greatness, of which we find some signs and tokens in the adjacent fields. Near Dorchester, Tame and Isis with mutual consent join as it were in wedlock, and mix their names as well as their waters; being henceforth called Tham-Isis, or the Thames, in like manner as the rivers Jor and Dan in the Holy-land, and Dor and Dan in France; from which compositions are Jordan and Dordan. This seems to have been first observed by the author of the *Eulogium Historiarum*. Concerning the marriage of Tame and Isis, I present you here with some

\* This is confuted in Wiltshire

verses from a poem of that title, which you may read or pass over as you please.

*Hic vestit Zephyrus florentes gramine ripas,  
Floraque neclareis redimit caput Ipsid's herbis,  
Seligit ambrosios pulcherrima Gratia flores,  
Contextit geminas Concordia læta corollas,  
Extolluque suas tædas Hymenæus in altum.  
Naiades ædificant thalamumque thorumque profundo  
Stamine geminato textum, pictisque columnis  
Undique fulgentem. Qualem nec Lydia regi  
Extruxit Pelopi, nec tu, Cleopatra, marito.  
Illic manubias cumulant, quas Brutus Achæis,  
Quas Brennus Græcis, rigidus Gurmundus Hibernis,  
Bunduica Romanis, claris Arthurus Anglis  
Eripuit, quicquid Scotis victoribus armis  
Abstulit Edvardus, virtusque Britannica Gallis.*

*Hauferat interea sperati conjugis ignes  
Tama Cateuchlanum delabens montibus, illa  
Impatiens nescire thorum, nupturaque gressus  
Accelerat, longique dies sibi stare videntur;  
Ambitiosa suum donec præponere nomen  
Possit amatori. Quid non mortalia cogit  
Ambitio? notamque suo jam nomine \* villam  
Liquit, Norrissis geminans saluete, valete.  
Cernitur & tandem Dorcestria prisca petiti  
Augurium latura thori, nunc Tama resurgit  
Nexa comam spicis, trabea succincta virenti,  
Auroræ superans digitos, vultumque Diones:  
Pestane non labra rosæ, non lumina gemmæ,  
Lilia non æquant crines, non colla pruine:  
Utque fluit, crines madidos in terga repellit,  
Reddit & undanti legem formamque capillo.  
En subito frontem placidis e fluctibus Isis  
Effert, & totis radios spargentia campis  
Aurea stillanti resplendent lumina vultu,*

---

\* Tame.

*Jungit & optatæ nunc oscula plurima Tame,*  
*Mutuaque explicitis innectunt colla lacertis,*  
*Oscula mille sonant, connexi brachia pallent,*  
*Labra ligant animos : tandem descenditur una*  
*In thalamum, quo juncta Fide Concordia sancta,*  
*Splendida conceptis sancit connubia verbis.*  
*Undique multijori strepitat nunc tibia buxi,*  
*Flucticolæ Nymphæ, Dryades, Satyrique petulci*  
*In numeros circum ludunt, ducuntque choreas,*  
*Dum pede concutiunt alterno gramina læti,*  
*Permulcent volucres sylvas modulamine passim,*  
*Certatimque sonat lætum reparabilis Echo.*  
*Omnia nunc rident, campi lætantur, Amores*  
*Frænatis plaudunt avibus per inania velli :*  
*Personat & cythara quicquid videre priores,*  
*Pronuba victura lauro velata Britona.*

*Hec canit, ut toto diducta Britannia mundo,*  
*Cam victor rupes divulserit æquore Nereus.*  
*Et cur Neptuni lapidosa grandine natum*  
*Albionem vicit nostras delatus in oras*  
*Hercules illimes libatus Thamisius undas :*  
*Quas huc adveniens aras sacravit Ulysses :*  
*Uique Corinæo Brutus comitatus Achate*  
*Occiduos adiit tractus : ut Cæsar anhelus*  
*Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis : &c.*

And after a few other verses :

*Dixerat : unito confurgit & unus amore*  
*Lætior exultans nunc nomine Tamisis uno,*  
*Oceanumque patrem quærens jactantior undas*  
*Promovet. ———*

Here, with soft blasts, obliging Zephyrs pass,  
 And cloath the flow'ry banks with long-liv'd grass.  
 The fragrant crown, that her glad hands have made,  
 Officious Flora puts on Isis' head.  
 The beauteous Graces have their business too,  
 They brush the weeping flowers from their ambrosial dew :  
 Q 2 Which

Which joyful Concord does with pleasing care  
 Weave into chaplets for the god-like pair:  
 While Hymen's mounted taper lights the air.  
 In a fair vault beneath the swelling stream,  
 The marriage-bed the busy Naiads frame:  
 Where brightest gems the painted columns grace,  
 And doubly shine with their reflected rays.  
 No such great Pelops kingdom could afford,  
 Nor lavish Cleopatra for her lord.  
 On this the virgins in vast numbers pile  
 Proud spoils and trophies of the conqu'ring isle:  
 What Boudic, Gurmund, Brennus, Brute brought home,  
 From Greece, from Gaul, from Ireland, and from Rome,  
 What mighty Arthur from the Saxons won,  
 What Edward from the Scots, and from the French his son.

Now had fair Tame sigh'd for her promis'd spouse,  
 While down the Cateuchlanian hills she flows,  
 And scarce saluting her old banks, runs by,  
 Beating no load, but long virginity:  
 And this she seems ambitious to lay down,  
 And see her lover's stream augmented by her own  
 With a faint kiss she mocks the walls of Tame,  
 And leaves behind her nothing but her name.  
 Yet tho' impatient Isis arms to fill,  
 She stops to bid the Norrises farewell.  
 Old Dorchester stands wondring at her speed,  
 And gladly bids the happy match succeed.

Now does the joyful bride new dress appear,  
 Fresh blades of corn tie up her golden hair,  
 Her shining gown plays with the purled air.  
 Blushing Aurora to her hand gives place,  
 Nor proud Dione boasts so fair a face.  
 Her lips the rose, her eyes bright gems out-do,  
 Her hair the lilies, and her skin the snow.  
 In state she swims, her careful hand throws back  
 Her floating tresses on her silver neck.

Proud Isis now his comely head displays,  
 And cheers the drooping fields with golden rays.  
 Nor stays he to admire his Tama's charms,  
 But throws himself (sweet load!) betwixt her arms.  
 Ten thousand kisses do ten thousand meet,  
 And with their breath the lovers souls unite.  
 Hence to their bed the happy pair go down,  
 Where Faith and Concord speak them into one.  
 The pipes and cornets echo all around,  
 While the pleas'd stream returns the grateful sound.  
 In joyful rings the merry nymphs advance,  
 And sportive Satyrs drive the wanton dance.  
 While quires of winged songsters of the air,  
 The woods and groves with tuneful numbers cheer  
 Echo, contented now that she's all tongue,  
 Sounds quick replies to their delightful song.  
 All things rejoice, and nature's self is glad,  
 The painted flowers o'er smiling meadows spread,  
 To th' universal joy consent, and nod their head.  
 The wanton Loves their harness'd birds drive on,  
 And clap to see their winged chariot run.  
 Auspicious Juno with a graceful smile  
 Begins the ancient glories of the isle;  
 On her fair brows unwither'd bays appear,  
 And thus she sings, and tunes her trembling lyre.  
 How Neptune's spear the wond'ring Isthmus shook,  
 When their long hold their parted cliffs forsook.  
 What crimes, what vengeance, brought Alcides o'er,  
 To die the crystal Thames with Albion's gore,  
 And spread his monstrous carcass on the shore.  
 How hirer his wild course Ulysses steer'd,  
 What altars to the angry gods he rear'd!  
 How Brute with Corinax came to land,  
 And made the savage nations own their new command!  
 How Caesar's drooping legions homeward stood,  
 Glad to escape from those they'd but in thought subdu'd, &c.

*And*

*And after some verses interpos'd, the poet proceeds :*

Thus sang the goddess! strait the joyful stream,  
Proud of the late addition to it's name,  
Flows briskly on, ambitious now to pay  
A larger tribute to the sovereign sea.

Hence, the Thames passes on to Benson, formerly Bensington, which Marianus calls a royal vill; and reports that it was taken from the Britains by Ceaulin in the year 572, and possessed by the West-Saxons for 200 years after. But then, Offa king of Mercia, thinking both his interest and honour concerned, that they should hold nothing on this side the river, took this town by force, and joined it to his own kingdom. At present, it is a small village, and shews at a little distance a \* house of our kings, which has been formerly a beautiful structure, but is now much decayed by reason of the unhealthy situation near low and wet ground. This seat, called Ewelme, commonly New Elm, from the elms growing here, was built by William de la Pole duke of Suffolk, who, by marriage with Alice only daughter of Thomas Chaucer, obtained a large estate in these parts; and besides this house, built a neat church (in which the said Alice lies interr'd) and a fair hospital, called God's-house. But John earl of Lincoln, his grandchild by John his son, almost utterly ruined this family. For, being engaged in a conspiracy against king Henry VII. his honours were lost by a remainder, and his estate confiscated to the king, and he himself soon after slain in battle. After this, king Henry VIII. with the addition of some neighbouring manours, made an honour of this estate: and among these manours was Walingford, which had a long time appertained to the dukes of Cornwall.

From hence, the Thames fetches a large and winding compass, and the hundred of Henley, which is hilly, and woody, and which some think to have been the country of the Ancalites, who submitted to Caesar. In this hundred stands Greys Rotherfield, a seat which was given by Walter Grey archbishop of York, to his nephew William Grey, whose estate fell to the Levels by the lord D'eincourt. Afterwards, it became the seat of William Knolles, treasurer of his Majesty's household.

\* So said anno 1607

whom king James I. in consideration of his faithful services to queen Elizabeth, and his readiness to perform the like to him, advanced to the honour and title of Knolles baron of Rotherfield. The perpetual advowson of this church was lately \* purchased and given for ever, to Trinity-college.

Near this place, upon the Thames, in the utmost limits of the county, stands Henley, formerly Hanleganz, where the greatest part of the inhabitants are barge-men, and get their livelihood by carrying wood and corn to London by water. It has nothing more ancient that it can certainly boast of, than that it belonged formerly to the Molis; from whom, by the Hungerfords (who obtained from king Henry VI. a licence for two fairs yearly) it descended to the illustrious family of the Hastings. The bridge over the Thames, which is now of timber, they report to have been heretofore of stone, and arched. But whether this was the bridge which Dio makes the Romans to have passed over, in pursuit of the Britains in these parts, who had forded the river a little lower, is not so easy to determine.

From Henley, the Chiltern-hills run in a continued ridge to the north, and separate this county of Oxon from that of Bucks: at the foot whereof are seated many little towns, of which the most remarkable are Watlington, a small market-town, belonging formerly to Robert Dooly. Then, at the foot of the same hills, is Shirburne, heretofore a small castle of the Quatermans; afterwards, a seat of the Chamberlains, descended from the earls of Tankervil, who bearing the office of chamberlain to the dukes of Normandy, their posterity, laying aside the old name of Tankervil, called themselves Chamberlains, from the said office which their ancestors enjoyed.

The title of earl of Oxford did flourish long in the family of Vere, who derive their pedigree from the earls of Guisnes, and their name from the town of Vere in Zealand. They owe the beginning of their greatness in England to king Henry I. who advanced Alberic de Vere, for his great wisdom and conduct, to several places of honour and profit; as, to be chamberlain of England, and portreve of the city of London: and to his son Henry duke of Normandy (son of the daughter of king Henry, and right heir to England and Normandy. This was the title he used before his establishment in this kingdom) in order to draw him from king Stephen, who had usurped the crown, and to

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\* By Mr. Rowney.

oblige him to his own party, he granted and restored the office of chamberlain, which he had lost in those civil wars, and offered him the choice of these four earldoms, Dorset, Wilts. Berks, and Oxon. And after this, Maud the empress, and her son Henry, then in possession of the throne, did by their several charters create him earl of Oxford. Of his posterity, not to mention every particular person, the most eminent were these that follow: Robert de Vere, who being largely in favour with king Richard II. was by him advanced to the new and unheard of honours of marquis of Dublin, and Duke of Ireland, of which he left (as one well observes) nothing but some gaudy titles to be inscribed upon his tomb, and matter of discourse and censure to the world. For soon after, through the envy of the other counsellors, he was degraded, and miserably ended his life in banishment: John de Vere, a person of great knowledge and experience in war, and eminent for his constant fidelity to the Lancastrian party, fought often in the field against king Edward IV. and for some time defended St. Michael's mount, and was the chief assistant to king Henry VII. in obtaining the crown: Another John, in the reign of Henry VIII. who was in all parts of his life so temperate, devout, and good, that he was distinguished by the name of John the Good. He was great grandfather to earl Henry, the eighteenth earl of this family, and grandfather to the two noble brothers Francis and Horatio Vere, who, by their admirable conduct, and their many brave and successful exploits in the foreign countries, added no small lustre to their ancient and honourable family.

There are in this county 280 parishes.

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### A Catalogue of PLANTS growing wild in *Oxfordshire*.

**F**emale or Blue-flower'd Pimpernel. At Battle near Oxford.  
Painted or gilded Reed. Found in the river Thames not far from Oxford. Tho' it be but an accidental variety, it deserves to be mentioned, being very ornamental in gardens.

The greatest Doves-foot Cranes-bill, with dissected leaves. In heaths about Marston, and on that of Botley-causway next Oxford plentifully.

Dogs-grass with awns. Found plentifully growing in Stoken-church woods.

Wild Rye-grass of the woods. In Stoken-church woods also.

Cyperus-grass with a round crow-foot-head. Frequently found on the bogs on the west-side of Oxford.

White-flower'd Bastard-Hellebore. In the woods near Stoken-church.

Naked Barley. It is sown in the fields about Islip in Oxfordshire and other places. It is really a species of wheat, and no Barley: only in ear resembles the *Hordeum distichum*.

Birds-nest smelling like Primrose-roots. At the bottoms of trees in the woods near Stoken-church.

Annual Pearl-wort. In the walks of Baliol-college gardens, and on the fallow-fields about Hedington and Cowley, plentifully; and in many other places.

Base Hore-hound. Nigh Witney-park in Oxfordshire and thereabouts, plentifully.

Creeping Tormentil with deeply-indented leaves. In the borders of the corn-fields between Hockley and Shotover-woods, and elsewhere.

Many-ear'd Wheat. It hath been sown about Biceter, and Weston on the green.

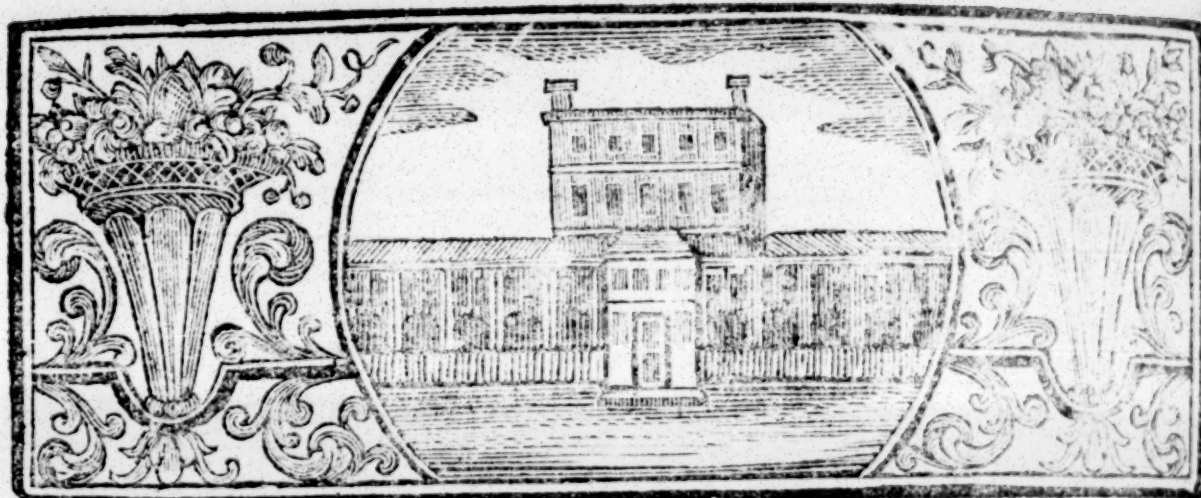
Violet with Throatwort leaves. In Shotover-hills, Stow-wood, &c.

Round-leav'd Marsh-violet. In the bogs about Stow-wood.

The greater Periwinkle. In the high-ways between Wolverton and Yarnon, and in several hedges thereabout.

White-berried Elder. Observed by Mr. Robert in the hedges near Watlington.





## CATTIEUCHLANI.



N the East of the Dobuni, border those people whom Ptolemy, according to different copies, calls Carueuchlan', Cartidudani, Cathicudani; and Dio. Cartuellani. Which of these is the true name, I cannot easily determine; yet I must beg leave to be deliver'd of an abortive conjecture, which I long since conceived. I should think then, that those people were the ancient Cassii; that from them their prince Cassivellaunus, or Cassibelinus, took his name; and that they again, from their prince Cassivellaunus, were by the Grecians called Caruellani, Cathuellani, and Cattieuchlani. Now the Cassii, mentioned by Caesar among the British nations, did most certainly inhabit these parts; from whom a pretty large tract in this county still retains the name of Caishow. And since Cassivellaunus governed here, as is evident from Caesar; and in his name that of the Cassii doth manifestly appear; it seems very probable, that Cassivellaunus denotes as much as the prince of the Cassii. If otherwise, why should Dio call this Cassivellaunus,

Cassivellaunus, Suellan instead of Vellan; and Ninnius the British writer not Cassibellinus, but Bellinus, as if that were the proper name either of his person or dignity? Nor ought it to seem strange, that princes heretofore took their names from the people whom they governed: for thus the Catti in Germany had their Cattivmarus; the Teutones their Teutomarus and Teutobochus; the Daci their Decebalus; the Goths their Gottiso. And why might not our Cassii in like manner have their Cassibelinus? Especially, when Belinus was a common name in this island; and some have thought, that the name of Cunobellinus, King of the Iceni, imported no more than the Belinus of the Iceni. So that if the Grecian writers did not from this Cassivellaunus extort the names Cattuellani, Cattieuchlani, &c. I must, as to this matter, freely confess my self in the dark.

But whence these people had the name of Cassii, I have not discovered; unless it was from their warlike valour. For Servius Honoratus informs us, that the stoutest and most vigorous soldiers were by the ancient Gauls (who spoke the same language with the Britains) called Gessii. Whence Ninnius interprets the British word Cethilon, the seed of warriors. Now, that the Cassii were renowned for Martial prowess is most certain: for, before the arrival of Cæsar, they had waged continual war against their neighbours, and had reduced part of the Dobuni under their subjection. And then, upon Cæsar's invasion, the Britains constituted the prince of this country, commander in chief of the forces of the whole island. They had too, by this time, extended their name and dominion to a considerable distance. For under the general name of Cassii, or Cattieuchlani, were comprehended all those people who inhabit three counties in the present division, viz. Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Hertfordshire; of which I shall now speak briefly in their order, having not much to say of any of them.

# BUCKINGHAMSHIRE



Uckinghamshire abounds exceedingly in beech-trees, which the Saxons call Bucken; and it is probable, that from them the chief town Buckingham had its name; and from that, the whole county. For so in Germany, a country famed for plenty of beeches, is called Buchonia; and with us the town of Buckenham in Norfolk is said to be surrounded by that sort of trees.

This shire, being of no considerable breadth, no more than 18 miles, is in length extended 39 miles from the Thames northward; the whole circumference being about 138. On the South, it hath Barkshire, divided from it by the Thames; on the West, Oxfordshire; on the North, Northamptonshire; on the East, first Bedfordshire, then Hertfordshire, and afterwards Middlesex. The soil is generally very fruitful, and the inhabitants thick-set and numerous, who generally follow grazing. The county is divided into two parts; one, a mountainous, or rather hilly country, toward the South and East, called Chiltern, in Saxon Cyltern; the other, below this to the North, called the Vale.

Chiltern hath its name from the nature of the soil; Cylt or Chilt in Saxon signifying chalk. For it riseth, for the most part, into chalky hills, covered with woods and grove of beeches. For, heretofore, it was so thick with trees, that they render'd it impassable; till they were in good measure cleared by Leofstan abbot of St. Albans, as a common receptacle and harbour for thieves. In this part, where the Thames winds itself round the bottom of the hills, is seated Marlow, a pretty considerable town, which has its name from a sort of chalky clay which we call Marle; This being spread upon the fields, so fattens  
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and enriches the soil when it is worn out, that after one year's lying fallow, they are always fit for tillage; and what they receive of the husbandman, they repay with wonderful increase.

Nigh this town, a little river cuts its way through low grounds into the Thames; on the turning of which, is seated High-Wickham, or rather Wicomb; and perhaps it may have received its name from thence. For the German-Saxons call the winding of a sea or river Wick; and in England there are abundance of places of like denomination. This town, for largeness and beauty, compares with the best in the county; and, as it is govern'd by a mayor, is justly prefer'd to most of the rest. About the time of the conquest, Wigod de Wallingford was lord of the borough of Wicomb, and of the out-village belonging to it, as an old inquisition expresses it. After whose death, Henry I. appropriated it to the crown. But afterwards, king John divided the out-village between Robert de Vipont and Alan Basset. North of Wicomb is the highest eminence of these parts, whence it still keeps the British name Pen (for they call the head or top of any thing Pen: Whence the Pennine alps, and the Apennine, and several mountains among us, seem to be derived) Near Pen, lies Bradenham, of a commodious and healthy situation, formerly the chief residence of the barons of Windsor (of whom we have spoken in Berkshire;) from the time that William lord Windsor, in the memory of \* our fathers, built here a seat for his family.

The Thames, having received that rivulet, keeps on its course to Eton, famous for its seminary of learning; founded (as I have said before) by that pious and good prince Henry VI. A few miles from hence, Thames is augmented by the river Cole, which river, dividing Buckinghamshire and Middlesex, gives name to Colebrook. This, the exact distance on both sides from Wallingford and London, sufficiently proves to be the Pontes of Antoninus. Nor is there any other town between those two places, to which the name of Pontes, or Bridges, doth more properly agree. For here Cole is divided into four chanel, which for the convenience of travellers have so many bridges over them; and that this name is derived from them, is plain from the very word: In the same manner, as Gephyræ, a town of Bœotia, had its name from bridges; and also Pontes in Gaul, whence the county of Ponthieu was so called, which (by the bye) came to the English crown

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\* So said anno 1607.

in right of Eleanor queen to Edward I. who was sole heir of it in right of her mother.

With these divisions of its streams, the Cole makes here some pleasant islands; into which, in the year 894. the Danes fled from king Alfred, who closely pursued them; and were protected by the natural strength of the place, till the king for want of forrage was obliged to draw off his army. On this turning of the river stands Eure, or Eury, a little village; which \* king Richard having given to Robert, and king John confirmed to John Fitz-Robert his son, lord of Claspington, his younger sons Hugh and Robert took from thence their name: from the former of whom, the lords of Eure; and from the latter, the family of Eure in Axholm, is descended. More inward, are two places which we must by no means pass by; Stoke-pogeis, called so from the Pogeis, formerly lords of it, from whom it devolved by right of inheritance to the Hastings. The other place is Fernham, the same (as I take it) which is called Fernham-royal. This the barons Festival heretofore held by service, That on the coronation-day they should be obliged to find a glove for the king's right hand, and to support his left arm that day, while he held the royal sceptre. From the Festivals, it descended by the daughter of Thomas Nevil to the Talbot earls of Shrewsbury; who, tho' by way of exchange they surrendered this manour to Henry VIII. yet did they reserve that honourable office to themselves and their heirs for ever.

The Cole, being joined higher by another rivulet from the west, carries it along: and upon this, the first place observable is Miffenden, where a monastery was founded by the D'oilys, and augmented by the noble family surnamed De Messenden. Next, in the vale, stands Amer-sham, in Saxon Agmundesham; which can neither boast of buildings nor populousness, but may justly be proud of its ancient lord Francis Russell earl of Bedford, who lived an exact pattern of virtue and true honour, entirely beloved by all good men. The chief seat of the earls of Bedford, is Cheyneis, more to the East, where John the first earl of this family and his son, the fore-mention'd Francis, lie entomb'd together. To Cheyneis adjoineth Latimers, called heretofore Ise'-hamstead, but it had the present name from the lords of it, the ancient barons Latimer. Here, Sir Edwyn Sandys Kt. who married the only daughter of baron Sandys, had a fine seat.

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\* Ann. reg. 14.

Passing hence, scarce three miles northward, we come to the ridge of the Chiltern-hills, which divides the whole shire from south-west to north-east, along many little villages; of which, the most considerable is Hamden, whence an ancient and numerous family in this county took their name.

On the eastern angle of the hills, upon a descent, stands Atheridge, formerly a house of pleasure of the kings, where Edmund earl of Cornwall, son to Richard king of the Romans, founded a monastery for an order of religious, then lately instituted, and by him first brought in to England, called \* Bon-hommes: they wore a sort of sky-colour'd habit, after the manner of the hermits. From the top of these hills we have a clear and full prospect of the large vale, which I said was the other part of the county. It is almost all champaign: the soil is chalky, stiff, and fruitful. The rich meadows feed an incredible number of sheep, whose soft and fine fleeces are sought after, even from Asia itself. This vale has no woods but on the west-side; where among others is Bernwood, about which in the year 914. the Danes committed great outrages; and then perhaps was ruined that ancient burgh (for to the Roman coins found there witness it to be) which was afterwards a royal vill of Edward the Confessor, tho' it be now a small country-town, and instead of Bury-hill, is by contraction call'd Brill. In this low part of the county, tho' stored sufficiently with towns and villages, we meet with few worth our observation, and those seated by the Tame, or by the Isis or Ouse.

Not far from the said river, which watereth the south part of the vale, stands on a rising ground a very fair market-town, large, and pretty populous, surrounded with a great number of pleasant meadows and pastures, and now called Ailesbury; whence the whole vale is named The vale of Ailesbury. The Saxons called it Æglesburge, when Cuthwolph the Saxon took it by force in the year 578. As for its old British name, that, through the injury of time is quite lost. This town was heretofore chiefly famous for St. Ædith, a native of it; who, when she had prevailed with her father Frewald to give her this for her portion, presently, upon the persuasion of some religious persons, left the world and her husband, and taking on her the habit of a nun, grew so celebrated for sanctity, even in that fruitful age of saints, that she is reported to have done several miracles; together with her sister

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\* Boni homines

Edburg, from whom Edburton, a little village among the hills, takes its name. In the time of the Conqueror this was a manour-royal, and several yard-lands were here given by the king, on condition that the holders of them should find litter (i. e. straw) for the king's bed (I hope the nice part of the world will observe this) whenever he should come thither. It was so held by William of Ailesbury; and, besides that service, he was likewise to straw his chamber, and to provide him three eels whenever he should come in winter. If he came in summer, besides straw for the bed, he was to provide sweet herbs for the king's chamber, and two green geese. All which he was to do thrice every year, if the king came so often thither. In the reign of Edward I. certain knights surnamed De Ailesbury, who bore for arms a Cross argent in a field azure, are reported (how truly I know not) to have been lords of this place. Yet thus much is certain, that these knights were eminent in those times; and that by marriage with an heiress of the Cahaignes (formerly lords of Middleton-Cahaignes, now commonly Middleton-Cheney) they came to a plentiful estate, which fell afterwards by marriage to the Chaworths or De Cadurcis, and Staffords. The greatest repute it hath, is for cattle; saving that it hath the honour of giving the title of earl to Robert Bruce, created baron of Skelton, viscount Bruce of Amphil, and earl of Ailesbury, by king Charles the second, in the year 1664. And, by reason of its standing in the middle of the county, it is the usual place of assizes and sessions, which have added greatly to its wealth and populousness. It owes much to the munificence of Baldwin chief justice, who not only adorn'd it with publick edifices, but rais'd an excellent causey about three miles in length, where the road is deep and troublesome. All about, vast numbers of well-fleec'd sheep are plentifully fed, to the great profit and advantage of their owners; especially at Querendon, belonging formerly to the very eminent Sir Henry Lee, knight of the Garter, and now to his descendants; at Eythorp, once belonging to the Dinham, now to the Dormers, knights; and at Winchindon, heretofore belonging to the Godwins, knights, &c. This last is now the seat of the duke of Wharton; \* which came to that family by Philip lord Wharton marrying Jane the daughter and heir of Arthur Godwin, Esq; and hath been of late years greatly improved and adorned. Its neighbour Waddesden is remarkable, for having three distinct recto-

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\* Dugd. Bar. T. 3. p. 390.

nes, of which each minister or rector hath his particular turn of officiating, and portion of the revenue.

In the Tame, lower down, we meet with nothing memorable, unless Cheddley be (as many think it is) the *Cerdic-Heaga* of the Saxons, so call'd from *Cerdicius*, who had here a sharp engagement with the Britons. Near this place, is Credendon, now Crendon, which was the seat of the Honour of Gifford; for by that name the vast estate was call'd, that fell to the share of Walter Gifford, at the Conquest; who, being made earl of Buckingham, founded (as it is thought) the monastery of Notsley: and his cousin Hugh de Bolebec, from whom by a female the earls of Oxford are descended, held here several estates of him. The ruins of Bolebec-castle appear hard by, in the parish of Whitechurch.

Ud or Ouse (formerly Ila, and the second Isis, which flows gently through the north part of this shire) rising in Northamptonshire, and presently entering this county while it's current is yet small; passes by Bideleiden, which Robert de Mapertshal, lord of the place, gave to Jeffrey de Clinton, Chamberlain to king Henry the first (a powerful man at court,) to save himself from being punish'd as a felon, for stealing one of the king's hounds. But he receiv'd it back again from the Chamberlain, with a kinswoman of his in marriage. Yet, in the civil wars in king Stephen's time, he lost it again, and Ernald de Bosco, by the favour of Robert earl of Leicester, got it, and in the year 1127, founded here a little monastery for Cistercian monks. Then the river strikes at some distance, by Stow, belonging to the Temples, who settled here in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and have built in this place a noble and beautiful seat; and who have been successively advanced, in the person of Sir Richard Temple, Baronet, to the honour, first of baron, and then of viscount Cobham, in the county of Kent. The next place that the Ouse visits, is Buckingham, the chief town of the county, which Edward the elder (in the year 915.) fortified with a rampire and currets on both sides the bank, against the incursions of the Danes. Yet it seems to have been no considerable place at the Conquest; since, in the reign of the Confessor (as *Domesday Book* informs us) it paid only for one hide, and had twenty-six Burgesses. The town is seated on a low ground. The Ouse, very commodious for the mills, surrounds it on all sides, but the north. The castle, seated in the middle of the town upon a great mount, of the very ruins of which scarce any thing now remains, as it were divides the town into two parts; the greater part to the north, where stands the Town-hall; the lesser

leller to the west, in which there is a Church (though not very ancient) where was the shrine of St. Rumbald, born at Kings Sutton, a neighbouring village, and by our ancestors esteemed a Saint.

From Buckingham, and Thornton, the Ouse moves, with a gentle current, to the north-east. More easterly from the river, toward the woods, is Whaddon, formerly the seat of the Giffords, who were hereditary keepers of Whaddon-Chase under the earl of Ulster; from whom that office descended to the Pigots, who sold it into another family. Here was the seat of the warlike family of the Barons Grey of Wilton, who held the adjoining manour of Laton, by the service of keeping one Gerfalcon of the King's; whence that family bore for their crest a Falcon sitting on a glove. But upon the attainder of William lord Grey of Wilton, it came to the Villars Dukes of Buckingham; since the death of the last of whom, it passed by sale to James Selby, and Thomas Willis (the famous Physician of that name) who have almost entirely pulled down the fore-mentioned seat, built by the Barons Grey of Wilton. Not far from hence lies Saulden, where is a neat house built by the honourable and learned Knight, Sir John Fortescue, for himself and his family; who for his great wisdom and prudence was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and privy counsellor to queen Elizabeth and king James I. On the other side of the river, not far from the bank, are Leckhamsted, the seat of the Tyrrels; Lillingstone, the seat of the ancient family of the Dehairel, commonly Dairell, and Luffeld, where was formerly a monastery founded by Robert earl of Leicester; but, the monks dying of the plague, it was deserted. Higher on the south-bank of the river, the most considerable place is Stony-Stratford, so called from the Stones, the publick Street, and the ford; because the buildings are of Free-stone; which is dug plentifully at Calverton, hard by; and it is seated on the publick street or high way commonly called Watling-street, which was a military way of the Romans; and some Remains of it are plainly to be seen beyond the town: There was also a ford, though now scarce passable. The town is of considerable largeness, and has two churches (which no other town in this county can boast of.) In the middle stood a cross (though not very splendid) erected in memory of Queen Eleanor of Spain, wife of Edward I. and adorn'd with the arms of England, Castile, and Leon, and of the county of Ponthieu, to which she was heiress. Where the ford was formerly, there is now a Stone-bridge over the Ouse; which uses, in the winter-floods, to break out into the neighbouring fields with great violence. The other side of the bank is something higher

and there the inhabitants report the town to have stood. Near which, is Patham, so call'd from passing the river; so that it may probably be that pass which Edward the Elder maintain'd against the plundering Danes, while he was fortifying Torchester. But, after the building of the bridge at Stony-Stratford, this pass was wholly neglected. If I should guess this town to have been the *laetorodum* of Antoninus, not only its situation on a military way, and the exact distances, would favour my conjecture, but the signification too of *laetorodum*, fetch'd from the British tongue, which agrees exactly with this modern name: For the words in both languages are deriv'd from stones and a ford. Passing hence, the Ouse runs by Wolverton, the seat of the ancient family of the Longvils, and Newport-Paynel, so call'd from the lord of it, Fulk Paganel; from whom it descended to the barons Someries of Dudley, who had their castle here. From Newport, the Ouse runs by Terringham, giving name and habitation to a famous and ancient family. Then it goes to Oulney, a small market-town, but remarkable for its goodly church, with a beautiful spire-steeple, the only one (except Hanslap) that is in the whole county, as I have been informed. Thus far, and a little farther, reaches the county of Buckingham, along its boundary the Ouse.

The first earl of Buckingham (as far as I can yet find) was Walter first nam'd Gifford, son to Osbern de Bolebec, a famous man among the Normans; whom, in a charter of Henry I. we find among the witnesses, by the name of earl of Buckingham. He was succeeded in this honour by a son of the same name, who in the book of Abingdon-monastery is stil'd earl Walter the younger, and is said to have died in the year 1164. In the reign of Henry II. the famous Richard Strang-bow earl of Pembroke (descended from the sister and heir of Walter Gifford the second) did, in some publick instruments, make use of the same title. But it afterwards lay vacant for a long time, till it was conferred by Richard II. in the year 1377, on his uncle Thomas of Woodstock (of whom we have spoken before among the dukes of Gloucester.) Of his daughter, married to Edmund earl of Stafford, was born Humphrey earl of Stafford, created duke of Buckingham by Henry VI. for whom fighting valiantly, he was slain at the battle of Northampton. To him succeeded Henry his grandchild by his son Humphrey; which Henry was the chief means of bringing that tyrant Richard III. to the crown, and presently after endeavoured to depose him, because he would not restore to him the estate of the Bohuns, to which he was lawful heir. Being intercepted, he lost his head, and found too late, that tyrants commonly pull down those scaffolds by which they ascended their throne. His son Edward being restored to all, by the favour of

Henry VII. through the wicked practices of cardinal Wolsey lost the favour of Henry VIII. and was at last beheaded for treason, for that, among other things, he had consulted a wizzard about the succession to the crown. He died much lamented by all good men. When the emperor Charles V. heard of his death, he is reported to have said, that a butcher's dog had run down the finest buck in England; alluding to cardinal Wolsey's being the son of a butcher. From that time, the splendor of this family so decayed, that his posterity enjoyed only the bare title of earls of Stafford.

There are in this county 185 parishes.

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### More rare PLANTS growing wild in *Buckinghamshire*.

I have not had opportunity of searching this country for plants, neither have any singular, local, or uncommon species, growing there, as yet, come to my knowledge, save only

*Spondylium montanum minus angustifolium, tenuiter laciniatum*, observ'd by Dr. Plukenet near St. Giles Chalfont in the mountainous meadows.



## B E D F O R D S H I R E.

HE county of Bedford, commonly call'd Bedfordshire, is one of the three, which we observ'd before to have been inhabited by the Cattieuchlani. On the east and south it joins to Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire; on the west to Buckinghamshire; and on the north to Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire: And it is divided into two parts, by the Ouse running through it. In the north part, it is fruitful, and woody; in the south (where it is much larger) the soil is more poor, but yet tolerable: For it abounds with barley which is plump, white, and strong. In the middle, it is pretty thick-set with woods; but eastward it is more dry, and wants wood.

The Ouse, at its entrance into this county, first visits Turvy, the seat of baron Mordant; which family is indebted to Henry VIII. for that dignity; (for he it was that created John Mordant, baron Mordant, a person of great wisdom, who had married the daughter and coheir of H. Vere of Addington.) Next it glides by Hare-wood, a little village, call'd formerly Harles-wood, where Sampson, surnam'd The Strong, built a nunnery; and where, in the year of our Lord 1399, a little before the breaking out of these commotions and civil wars wherewith England was a long time embroil'd, this river stood still, and the water retiring both ways, left a passage on foot along the channel, for three miles together, to the astonishment of the beholders. Afterwards, it runs under Odil or Woodhill, formerly Wahull, which had also its barons of Wahull, eminent for their ancient nobility; where was a castle, which came by inheritance to the Cherwoods. From hence, the Ouse, no less winding than the Meander, is carried through Bletneshe, commonly Bletso, formerly the seat of the Pate-  
shuls,

shuls, afterwards of the Beauchamps; and now of the famous family of St. John, who formerly, by their valour, became masters of a great estate in Wales, and having had the honour of barons confer'd upon them by queen Elizabeth, of blessed memory, were advanced by king James I. to the more honourable title of earls of Bolingbroke. Of whom, Paulus St. John dying unmarried, in the year 1711, the earldom became extinct, and this barony devolved upon Sir St. Andrew St. John, one of the descendants of Sir Rowland St. John, fifth son of Oliver, the second baron of Bleishoe. To the St. Johns it came by Margaret de Beauchamp, an heiress, married first to Oliver de St. John, from whom those barons are descended; and afterward, to John duke of Somerset, by whom she had the famous Margaret countess of Richmond, a woman whose merit exceeds the highest commendations that can be given, and from whom the royal family of England is descended.

From hence the Ouse hastens to Brumham, the seat of the lord Trevor, who being a person of great accomplishments, and particularly knowing in the municipal laws of this realm, was for many years chief justice of the common-pleas, and was advanced to the dignity of a peer of this realm, by the title of baron Trevor of Brumham. Next, the Ouse goes to Bedford, in Saxon Bedanford, the county-town and which gives name to the whole; and is so cut by the river, that one would imagine it two towns, but that it is join'd by a stone bridge. It is more eminent for the pleasantness of its situation, and its antiquity, than for either beauty or largeness; and yet it has five churches, and hath, of late years, been much improved by new buildings, and a fair market-house; and the river also hath been made navigable. Although both sides of this river are govern'd by the same magistrates, viz. a mayor, two bailiffs, &c. yet thus far they make their particular claims, that, whereas they have two weekly markets, the south-side has the Tuesday one, considerable for all live cattle; and the north-side the Saturday one, for all sorts of corn. Of the five churches also, two are seated on the south, and three on the north-side. St. Paul's (as Leland tells us) is the principal church of the town, and was before the conquest a college of prebendaries; and so it was after too, till the foundation of Newenham priory. They had their houses round the church, till they were translated to Newenham, by Roisia, and her son Simon de Beauchamp. In this town, ann. 1561, was built and endow'd a free-school, by Sir William Harper, a native hereof, bred a merchant-taylor in the city of London, and afterwards lord-mayor. I dare not assent to those who think Bedford the *lactodorum* of Antoninus; for neither is it situate upon a military way (which is the surest guide in our search after the stations and mansions

mansions mention'd by Antoninus,) nor were there ever any Roman coins dug up here. I have read, that it was call'd, in British, *Lifwider*, or *Lettidur*; but this seems to be translated from the English name: For *Lettuy* signifies in British publick inns; and *Lettidur*, inns upon a river; and our English *Bedford* implies beds and inns at a ford. Below this town, about the year 572, Cuthwulph the Saxon did so shatter the Britains in a set battle, that he was ever after too hard for them, and had several towns surrendered to him. Nor does it seem to have been neglected by the Saxons, since Offa, that powerful prince of the Mercians, made choice of this place (as Florilegus tells us) for his burial; but the Ouse, being once very rapid, and rising higher than ordinary, swept away his sepulchre. The town was repaired by Edward the elder, after it had been destroy'd in the Danish wars; which king did likewise add a little town on the south-side of the river, call'd by that age (to follow the best copy of *Hoveden*) *Mikefgate*. In the time of Edward the confessor (as we find in *Domesday-book*) it defended it self for the half of an hundred, in expedition and ships. The land of this village never hid. But under the Normans, it was a much greater sufferer; for after Pagan de Beauchamp, the third who was called baron of Bedford, had built a castle there, not one civil commotion arose in the kingdom, but what had a blow at it, while it was standing. Stephen, in the first place, when he had possess'd himself of the kingdom of England against his solemn oath, took this castle, with great loss on both sides: Afterwards, when the barons took up arms against king John, William de Beauchamp, lord of it, and one of the leaders in that faction, put it into their hands; but about two years after, Falco de B'caut laid siege to it, and had it presently surrendered to him by the barons, and bestowed upon him by the king. But this ungrateful man afterwards renewed the war against Henry III. and pulled down the religious houses to fortify his castle, and very much damnified the country all round; till at last the king laid siege to it, and, after sixty days, having tam'd the insolence of the rebels, possess'd himself of that nursery of sedition.

I hope it may not be unacceptable to the reader, if I recite the methods by which this castle was taken, out of an old contemporary writer, who was an eye-witness of it; to let us understand, how that age was little inferior to ours in the contrivances or works and engines for the destruction of mankind. "On the east-side, says he, was one petrary, and two mangonels, daily playing upon the tower; and, on the west, two mangonels, battering the old tower, as also one upon the south, and another on the north part, which beat down two passages through the walls that were next them. Besides these, there were two machines contriv'd of wood,

“ so as to be higher than the castle and tower, erected on purpose for the  
 “ \* gunners and watchmen. They had also several machines, wherein the  
 “ gunners and slingers lay in ambush. There was, moreover, another ma-  
 “ chine, call’d cattus, under which, the diggers who were employ’d to  
 “ undermine the walls of the tower and castle, came in and out. The  
 “ castle was taken by four assaults: In the first, was taken the barbican;  
 “ in the second, the outer ballia; at the third attack, the wall by the old  
 “ tower was thrown down by the miners, where, with great danger, they  
 “ possess’d themselves of the inner ballia through a chink. At the fourth  
 “ assault, the miners set fire to the tower, so that the smoke burst out,  
 “ and the tower it self was cloven to that degree, as to shew visible some  
 “ broad chinks: Whereupon, the enemy surrender’d.”

Concerning these mangonells, petraries, trabucces, bricoles, cstringolds,  
 and what our ancestors call’d the warrwolf, out of which, before the in-  
 vention of bombs, they threw great stones, with so much force, as to break  
 open strong gates: Concerning these (I say) I have several things to add,  
 if they were not foreign to my purpose. But my author goes on: “ Falco  
 “ continu’d excommunicate, till he had restored to the king the castle of  
 “ Plumton and Stoke-Cūrcy, as also the gold and silver vessels, with what  
 “ money he had; and then he was carried to London. Orders were given  
 “ in the mean time, to the sheriff, to demolish the tower, and the outer  
 “ ballia; but the inner ballia, after the works were thrown down, and the  
 “ ditches fill’d up, was granted to William de Beauchamp to live in. The  
 “ stones were given to the canons of Newenham and Chadwell, and to the  
 “ church of St. Paul in Bedford.” Nothing is now to be seen of it, be-  
 sides the bare tracks, as they hang over the river, upon the east-side of the  
 town, and on the site of it is a spacious and pleasant bowling-green.

Below Bedford, on both sides, were two very neat, but little, religious  
 houses; to the south Hele. stow, now Elstow, a nunnery built by Judith,  
 wife to Waltheof earl of Huntingdon, and dedicated to Helena, mother  
 of Constantine the Great: To the east, Newenham, which Rohia, wife  
 to Pagan de Beauchamp, translated hither from the church of St. Paul in  
 Bedford. Yet her son, Simon de Bello-Campo, or Beauchamp, confirming  
 and completing the act of his mother, was look’d upon as the founder;  
 and, accordingly, in his epitaph, which was before the high altar of this  
 church, he is call’d Fundator de Neweham. Within two miles of Bedford  
 was an old castle, call’d by Leland Risingho-castle, which he says was a

little by west from Castle-mill. In his time, the building was so entirely destroy'd, that no part of it was visible; but the area of the castle was easy to be trac'd, and the great round hill where the keep, or dungeon, stood, compleat.

The Ouse does not go far from hence, till it comes to the foot-steps of a ruinous castle at Eaton, which was another seat of the Beauchamps: and so it bids farewell to Bedfordshire, hard by Bilsmead, where Hugh de Beauchamp, and Roger his brother, built a small monastery for canons of St. Augustin as appears by the popes built. The Ouse lie beyond the Ouse, which, before it comes so far, is increased by a little \* anonymous river from the south; and at the conflux stands Temesford, noted for a camp of the Danes; with a castle, built at the time when they burthen'd those parts with winter-quarters, and demolish'd (as it is thought) that British fort, the place whereof is now call'd Chesterfield and Sandny, which gives frequent proofs of its antiquity, by throwing up Roman money. Besides, there have been discover'd at Sandye, some further evidences; namely, glass-urns, and one red urn like coral, with an inscription. They have ashes in them, and are now, or lately were, in the hands of a gentleman in Bedford. At Chesterfield, also, there is a Roman camp, where coins and urns were dug up, about the year 1670; some of which were bestow'd upon the university of Oxford. I am convinc'd, from the situation, that this is the very Salenæ which Ptolemy settles among the Catteuchlani; if Saldny be the true name, as some have affirm'd to me. I pass by Potton, a little market-town, having met with nothing relating to it, but only, that J. Kinaston bestow'd it upon Thomas earl of Lancaster, with the lands belonging to it. Nor is there much to be said of those towns which lie upon this little river; namely, Chickland, where Pagan de Beauchamp built a little religious house; Shelford a market-town; Biggleswade, famous for its horse-fair, and stone-bridge. At a little distance from whence, is Stratton, which was formerly the seat of the barons Latimer, and afterward of the Enderbies, and from them came by inheritance to the Pigotts.

Five miles from the head of this river, almost in the heart of the county, stands Ampthill, placed upon a hill; a stately, royal seat, that may vie with a castle; and surrounded with parks. It was built in the reign of king Henry VI. by John Cornwale, baron of Fanhop,

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\* Call'd by some *Iwell*.

out of the French spoils; whose goods (as I have read) when Edward IV. confiscated for his siding with the house of Lancaster, and had attainted him, or rather (as Fanhop himself says) the house; he forthwith gave it to Edmund Grey, lord of Ruthin, afterwards earl of Kent: From whose grandchild Richard, it came to king Henry VIII. and he (as civilians speak) added it to the sacred patrimony, or (as our common lawyers) to the crown; calling the large estate belonging to it, the honour of Ampthill; into which it was erected by act of parliament, in the 33d year of his reign. Here, in a palace belonging to that prince, dwelt queen Katharine during the progress of the divorce, and from hence she was cited to appear before the commissioners at Dunstable. The town is much improved in buildings, especially by its beautiful and convenient market-house and sessions-house, where the assizes have been frequently held. Here, in the middle of a most pleasant park, is a delightful seat belonging to the earl of Ailesbury, and built by the countess of Pembroke: the mode whereof was devised by the incomparable Sir Philip Sidney, in his Arcadia. Here is also another seat of the lord Ashburnham; and at some distance, namely, at Wrotham, a third, the ancient seat of the Grays: and now the residence of his grace the duke of Kent. Three miles from Ampthill, a gold mine was discovered, not many years since.

More to the north, lies Haughton-conquest, so called from a famous and ancient family that was long possess'd of it. Here, in two common fields, one call'd Great-danes-field, and the other Little-danes-field, are a great many pits, fifteen foot diameter, or thereabouts; in which parish is also a house, and a considerable estate, of the lord Haversham. Near this place, is Hawnes the seat of the lord Carteret; from which, Sir George Carteret was, for his loyalty, created, by king Charles II. a baron of this realm by the title of baron Carteret of Hawnes; and, upon his death, the title descended to John, his son and heir, a person of early and great accomplishments, and every way qualified to do honour and service to his country; to whom also are to descend the titles of viscount Carteret, and earl Granville, in right of his mother, who was youngest daughter of John earl of Bath, and on whom the said titles have been conferred since the accession of king George I. to the throne. To the south-west is Woburn, where is a little school built by Francis earl of Bedford; and here was formerly a famous monastery built by H. de Beke. Not far from whence, there is dug up great store of tanners-earth, commonly

monly call'd, from the place, Woburn-earth; a thing so very useful in cloathing, that the transportation of it has been strictly forbidden. Below Woburn, at Aspely Gowiz, they say there is a sort of earth that turns wood into stone; for an evidence whereof, I have heard that a wooden \* ladder was to be seen in that monastery, which had been for some time buried under ground, and was dug up a perfect stone. More to the east, Tuddington shews its beautiful house, built by H. lord Cheney; where also formerly Paulinus Bever, a courtier, and sewer to king Henry III. did (as Matthew Paris tells us) "build a seat with such palace-like grandeur. such a chapel, such lodgings, with other houses of stone cover'd with lead; and surrounded it with such avenues and parks, that it rais'd astonishment in the beholders." We had not gone far from this place (by Hockley in the hole, a dirty road, extreme troublesome to travellers in winter-time; and through fields of excellent bean, yielding a pleasant smell, but by their fragrancy spoiling the scent of dogs, to the great regret of the hunters :) till we ascended a white hill, into Chiltern, and presently came to Dunstable, seated in a chalky ground, pretty well inhabited, and full of inns. It has four streets, answering the four quarters of the world; and, because of the driness of the soil, each quarter has a publick pond, which, tho' supply'd only with rain-water, is never dry. As for springs, they can come at none without digging twenty-four fathom deep. In the middle of the town there is a cross, or rather pillar, which has engraven upon it the arms of England, Castile, and Pontieu, and is adorn'd with statues: It was built by king Edward I. in memory of his queen, Eleanor; as some others were, in places through which she was carried in funeral pomp to Westminster. There is no manner of doubt but this was the station which Antoninus the emperor, in his itinerary, mentions under the name of Magioninium, Magiovinium, and Magintum; nor need it be sought in any other place. For, setting aside that it stands upon a Roman military way, the swine-herds now and then, in the neighbouring fields, find coins of the emperors, which they call to this day madning-money; and at a little distance, on the very descent of Chiltern-hills, there is a round military fortification, such as Strabo tells us the British towns were: It contains nine acres, and is called Madning-bowre and Madin-bowre; a name wherein (with little

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\* *Scala gestatoris.*

variation) one easily discovers Magintum. But after that Magintum, either by the storms of war or time, was destroy'd, Henry I. built another town here with a royal seat at Kingsbury, and planted a colony to be a curb to the insolence of robbers (as the private history of the little monastery, which he founded for an ornament to his colony, plainly testifies.) But take the very words of that private history, tho' they favour something of the barbarity of that age. "It is to be observ'd, that that structure at the meeting of the way of Watling and Ilkening, was first contriv'd by Henry the Elder of that name, king of England, to prevent the mischiefs of one Dun a famous robber, and his gang: And that, from this Dun the place was call'd Dunstable. Our lord the king built a burrough there and a royal seat for himself near it. The burghesses were free in every thing, as the other burghesses of the king's realm. The king had in the same village a fair and market, and afterwards built a church, wherein, by the authority of pope Eugenius III. he plac'd canons regular, enfeoffing the said religious in the whole burrough, by charter, and granting them several immunities." But we must not believe, upon the authority of a monkish writer, that it is denominated from a robber (who seems to have the name of Dun given him, for the purpose; when the Saxon Cun, and the old Gaulish or British Dunum do so well answer the situation of the place, which is hilly and mountainous; and when we know also, that it is very ancient). Mere to the west, is Leighton, or Leyton, call'd also Layton-buzzard, coming from Beaudefert; about half a mile from which, is a Roman camp. And as this shews the presence of that people there, so the eminence of this town, even in the beginning of the Saxon times, seems to be prov'd from those conquests of Cuthwulph, in the year 571; wherein, among others, he is said by the Saxon annals to have taken Lygenburh, which seems more properly to belong to this Leyton, than to Loughborough in Leicestershire, where it has been formerly plac'd. For, setting aside that the Saxons generally fix'd in such places as the Romans had been in (an observation that may be confirm'd by numbers of instances,) the old name and new do very well agree. The termination burh has particular reference only to the fortification that

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\* A woman, who lived, died, and was buried in this town, had (as appears by her epitaph) nineteen children at five births: Five at two several births, and three together, at three others. And, after the coronation of king Charles II. the wives of two blacksmiths were, at the same time, deliver'd of three children each; one of three boys, and the other of three girls.

was then there; and why might not the Iygean be as well melted into Lay or Leigh, as the river Iygea is now into Lee or Ley? Besides, the course of his victories doth best suit this; for he went from Iygeanburgh to Ailesbury, and then to Pensington in Oxfordshire; which lie almost in a direct line: Where as Loughborough lies quite out of the road. Nigh to Leighton, is Battleiden: from which place, Allen Bathurst, eldest son of Sir Benjamin Bathurst, who for many years enjoyed the office of cofferer under her late majesty queen Anne, was by her said majesty created a peer of this realm, by the title of baron Bathurst of Battleiden.

Now of the lords, dukes, and earls of Bedford. First, there were barons of Bedford of the family of Beauchamp, who, by right of inheritance, were almoners to the kings of England on their coronation day. But the estate being divided by daughters among the Mowbrays, Wakes, and Fitz-Oses: King Edward III. made Engelram de Coucy (earl of Soissons in France, to whom he had married his daughter,) first earl of Bedford. Afterwards, Henry V. erected Bedford into a dukedom, and it had three dukes; the first, John, third son of Henry IV. who beat the French in a sea-fight, at the mouth of the Seine; and again being regent of France in a land fight at Ver-nail. He was buried at Roan, and the fortune of England, as to the French wars, was buried with him: Whose monument, while Charles VIII. king of France, was viewing, and a nobleman stood by who advised him to pull it down; "No," said he, let him rest in peace, now "he is dead: whom France dreaded in the field, while living." The second duke of Bedford was George Nevil, very young, and the son of John marquess of Montacute: both whom, king Edward IV. did, by act of parliament, deprive of their honours, almost as soon as he had raised them: The father for treachery, in deserting his party; and the son out of revenge to the father: Tho' it was, indeed, urged for a pretence, that he had not estate enough to support the grandeur of a duke; and that great men, when they want answerable fortunes, are always a grievance and burthen to their neighbours. The third was Jasper de Hatfield, earl of Pembroke, honoured with this title by his nephew, king Henry VII. whom he had saved in very great dangers: But he, tho' he lived to a great age, died unmarried.

However, in the memory of the last age, it returned to the title of an earldom; when king Edward VI. created John Russell, earl of Bedford, who was succeeded by his son Francis, a person of that piety, and genteel temper, that whatever can possibly be said in his commendation,

dation, will fall infinitely short of his virtues. His successor was Edward; his grandchild by Francis his son, who growing up to the honour of his ancestors, married the daughter of John lord Harrington, and died in 1627, without issue. Upon which, this title came to Francis lord Russell of Thornhaw, son of William, fourth son to the late Francis earl of Bedford. Which Francis was father of William earl of Bedford, who, in the sixth year of king William and queen Mary was created marquess of Tavistock and duke of Bedford; in which honourable titles he was succeeded by Wricthesley his grandson; who having married Elizabeth, only daughter and heir of John Howland of Stretham in the county of Surrey (from whence he had the title of baron Howland of Stretham,) died in the year 1711, and left, among other issue, Wriothesley, the present duke of Bedford.

This little county has 116 parishes.

### More rare PLANTS growing wild in *Bedfordshire*.

*Caryophyllus minor repens nostras. An betonica coronaria, sive caryophyllata repens rubra* J. B. Creeping wild-pink. On sandy hills, not far from an ancient Roman camp.

*Gentianella fugax autumnalis elatior, centaureæ minoris foliis. An gentianella fugax quarta clus?* The taller autumnal gentian with centaury-like leaves. On Barton hills upon a waste chalky ground, as you go out of Dunstable-way towards Gorckambury, Park. p. 407.

*Glastrum sativum* Ger. Park. *Isatis sativa vel latifolia* C. B. *Isatis seu glastrum sativum* J. B. Woad. This plant is cultivated in this county, in this manner: They every year sow the seed (it is never sown above two years together,) and pluck up the old woad, unless it be saved for seed.

It is sown about the beginning of March, and cropt about the middle of May, thereafter as the leaf comes up.

It is best in a fair and dry summer, but most in a moist; then they crop it four or five times, according as it comes. The first crop is best, every crop after worse in order, and the last worst of all.

As soon as it is crott, it is carried to the woad-mill, and ground as small as it can be, until it becomes fit to ball.

When it is ball'd, they lay the balls on hurdles to dry; and when it is perfectly dry they grind the balls to powder in the mill, as small as possible.

Thus

Thus ground, they throw it upon a floor, and water it, which they call couching, and let it smoke and heat, turning it every day till it be perfectly dry and mouldy, which they call silvering.

When it is silver'd, they weigh it by the hundred and bag it, putting two hundred weight in a bag; and so send it to the dier as fit for sale, who tries how it will die, and they set the price accordingly.

The best woad is usually worth eighteen pounds per tonn.

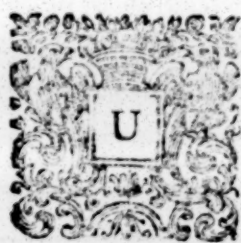
With the tincture of this plant the ancient Britains were wont to die their bodies, that they might appear more terrible to their enemies. The Romans call'd this herb in Latin, *vitrum*, witness Cæsar, Vitruvius, Mela, and Marcellus Empyricus; which word being manifestly an interpretation of glastum, it appears thence that glastia or glaste signified the same thing to the ancient Britains that it doth to us: And not to a blue colour, as Mr. Camden tells us it now doth to the Welsh. Why the Britains should call this herb glaste, I know no better reason than because it resembles some kind of glass in colour, which we know hath often a tincture of blue in it, whence also a dilute blue is call'd *color hyalinus*.

*Glaux diofcoridis*. Diofcoridis his milk-tare. Upon Barton hills four miles from Lewton, Ger. p. 1242. This hath been already mentioned in several counties.

*Melampyrum cristatum*. Crested cow-wheat. See the synonyms in Cambridgeshire. It is no less plentiful here than there about Blunham and other places.

*Ribes nigrum*. Black currans, squinancy-berries. By the river side at Blunham and elsewhere.

## HERTFORDSHIRE.



**U**PON the confines of Bedfordshire, toward the east and partly toward the south, lieth Hertfordshire, the third of those counties (as I said before) which were possess'd by the Cartiuchlani. Its west side bordereth upon Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire; the south side upon Middlesex; the east upon Essex; and the north upon Cambridgeshire. It is well furnish'd with corn fields, pasture grounds, meadows, and little woods; and with small, but very clear, streams: but pasture is the least in proportion; and their meadows, here and there disperfed, are many of them said to be cold and mossy; and the soil in general, to be, in respect of some other counties but barren of itself, without the great toil and charge of the husbandman. But so eminent is it for famous ancient places, that, as to that point, it may justly dispute pre-eminence with all its neighbours. For scarce is there any one shire in England, that can shew more tokens of antiquity. As to vicountile jurisdiction, both before and long after the time of Edward the third, it was annex'd to Essex; and one sheriff supply'd both counties, as did also one escheator. The justices for the greater ease both of themselves and the common people, did by consent divide the whole shire into three parts or divisions, and accordingly have three several courts for determination of lesser matters; the more considerable being referred to the general meeting at Hertford. Those who have made enquiries into the affairs of this county, refer it's flourishing condition, partly to the many thorow-fares to and from London, which has been the cause of the improvement of their towns; and partly to the healthfulness of the air, which has induced several of the gentry to settle in it, and given co-

caſion to this ſaying, "That they who buy a houſe in Hertfordſhire, pay  
"two years purchaſe for the air."

Upon the very edge of the county to the north, where it touches upon Cam-  
bridgeſhire, ſtands Roſton, a town of good note, but not ancient: as having  
riſen ſince the Norman conqueſt. For in thoſe days, there was a famous  
lady named Roſia (by ſome ſuppoſed to have been counteſs of Norfolk,) who  
erected a croſs upon the road-ſide, in this place, from thence for ma-  
ny years called Roſe's croſs; till Eutachius de Marc founded a ſmall monaſ-  
tery hard by, to the honour of St. Thomas. Upon this occaſion inns began to be  
built, and by degrees it came to be a town, which, inſtead of Roſe's croſs, took  
the name of Roſton, i. e. Roſe's town. Richard I. granted it a fair, as  
alſo a market, which is now very famous and much frequented upon account  
of the malt trade. For it is almoſt incredible, what a multitude of corn  
merchants, malſters, and the like dealers in grain, do weekly reſort to  
this market; and what a vaſt number of horſes laden with corn, do on  
thoſe days fill all the roads about it. From hence ſouthward, Tharfield,  
amongſt the tops of ſome ſmall hills, hangs over Roſton. Here was the  
ſeat of the ancient family of the Berners, deſcended from Hugh de Berners;  
upon whom as a reward for the valour he had ſhown in the Norman con-  
queſt, William the conqueror beſtowed a fair eſtate in Everſdon in Cam-  
bridgeſhire. And to that degree of reputation did his poſterity arrive,  
that John Bouchier, who married the ſole heiress of this family, received  
the title of lord Berners, upon his being created a baron, by king Edward  
IV.

Not far from hence lieth Nucelles, a place formerly belonging to the  
Roſſes or Rocheſters. But all its reputation was deriv'd afterwards from  
the barons de Scales, who were originally of Norfolk, but heirs to the  
Roſſes. For king Edward the I. for the great ſervices performed in the  
Scotch wars, granted to Robert de Scales certain lands then worth three  
hundred marks per annum, and ſummoned him amongſt his barons to par-  
liament. The arms of this family were gules with ſix eſcallops argent,  
which I have ſeen in ſeveral places. They flouriſhed till the reign of  
Edward the IV. when the only daughter and heir thereof was married to  
Anthony Wideville earl Rivers. Whom, as his own moſt ſignal valour and  
his ſiſter's marriage with the king had raiſed; ſo the malice of his enemies  
never left purſuing him, till they brought him to his end. For Richard  
the III. beheaded him, though he had no way deſerved it. After the  
death of this earl's lady without iſſue, the inheritance was divided in the  
time of Henry the VII. between John earl of Oxford and ſir William  
Tindale

Tindale, Knt. who were found to be next in blood and coheirs; the former by the Howards, the latter by the Bigods of Felbridge.

Lower, eastward is Ashwell, that is, the fountain among ashes, a good large country village, and well peopled. It stands upon the northern border of the county in a low ground, and is famous for springs which here break forth out of the side of a stony bank or creek, cover'd over and shaded with tall ashes. Hence the water flows continually in so large a quantity, that it's current being at a small distance gathered into one chanel, serves to drive a mill, and quickly after becomes a river. From these wells and ashes together, as it is most certain that the English Saxons gave it the modern name of Ashwel, so I was formerly of opinion, that the ancient Britains, who were wont to give divine honours to mountains, rivers, fountains, and groves, as Gildas hath observed, had accordingly, on the same account, and in the very same sense, given to this place the name of *Magioninium* and that it was the old *Magioninium* of Antoninus. But time hath now informed me better; and I am not ashamed to change my opinion in this point: it is not my humour to be fond of my own mistakes. And yet this place has its antiquity evidenced, by a large square fortification hard by; which, by the roman coins frequently found there, shows whose work it was. Also in domesday-book (which contains the survey of all England, taken by William the conqueror above six hundred years ago) it is expressly termed a borrough.

More to the south, I saw Baldoc, a market-town, seated upon a whitish soil; concerning which place antiquity is wholly silent, as well as concerning its neighbour Hitching, or Hitch-end, so called from lying at the end of a wood call'd Hitch, which formerly came up to it: The main business of the inhabitants is maulting, and their market chiefly noted for corn.

From thence, we come to Wimondley, seated in a well-cultivated and rich soil; an ancient and famous Manour, which is held by the most honourable tenure in this kingdom (the Lawyers call it grand serjeanty,) by which the Lord thereof is bound, on the Inauguration-day, to present the first cup to the king of England, and for that time to be as it were the royal cup-bearer. This honour was enjoyed, in virtue of the lordship, towards the beginning of the Norman times, by a noble family who had the name of Fitz-Tees; from whom it came by a daughter to the Argentons. They derived both their name and pedigree from David de Argenton, a Norman soldier, who served in the wars under William the conqueror; in memory of which office, they all along gave for their arms three cups argent in a field gules. But at length, upon failure of issue-male in the reign of Henry

Henry the VI. Elizabeth Argenton, who was sole heir, brought to her husband sir William Allington, Knt. a very fair estate together with this honour; from whom the seventh in the lineal descent, is Giles Allington, a young gentleman of an obliging and truly generous temper, who (I hope) by his own virtue will add a new lustre to the ancient reputation of this family.

Nor far from hence is Offley, so called from king Offa, who frequently resided, and and at last died, here: and, Hexton (near the military way) where on a high hill, is an oval camp of great strength and ancient works; and near it, on the top of another hill, is a hill-lock, such as the Romans were wont to rear for soldiers slain, wherein many bones have been found. A parcel of ground near the fore-said camp, is called Dane-furlong to this day.

South from Wimondley afore-said, near the high-road between Stevenhage, and Knebworth the seat of the famous family of the Littons, I saw certain hills cast-up, of a considerable bigness; such as the old Romans were wont to raise for soldiers slain in battle, where the first turf was laid by the general. Unless one should rather suppose them to have been placed as limits: For it was an ancient custom to raise such little hills to mark out the bounds of places, and underneath them to lay ashes, coals, lime, broken potsherds, &c. as I shall shew more at large in another place. But if they were neither Roman burying-places nor bounds, I am apt to think they had some relation to the Danes. For the hundred at a little distance, called Dacorum-Hundred, and the place within it Dane-end, seem to be an evidence of some remarkable thing or other, that the Danes either did or suffered, in this place. And Norden, in his description of this county, tells us (but upon what grounds, I know not,) that the incursions of the Danes were stopped in this place, where they received a signal overthrow: Which, if true, and built upon a good authority, makes this conjecture the more probable.

Lower, and more to the South, lies the head of the river Lea, by our ancestors called Ligea; which with a very gentle stream passeth first by Whethamsted, a place very fruitful in wheat, from whence also it took its name. John of Whethamsted, there born and thence named, was by his learning and fame a great ornament to it, in the days of Henry the VI. From thence it runs to Broomfield-hall, the seat of the knightly family of the Brookes, from whom it passed by marriage to the Reads; and Woodhall, heretofore the seat of the Butlers, who being descended from a baron of Wem, by marriage came to the estate

tate of the Gobions. Thence it comes near Bishops-Hatfield, a town seated upon the side of a hill; on the upper part whereof standeth a very fair house, once belonging to the king, as it did before to the bishops of Ely; which was rebuilt and beautified by John Morton bishop of Ely: For king Edgar gave forty hides in this place to the church of Ely. But now it is neither a royal, nor bishop's seat; but belongs to the earls of Salisbury, being a place of great pleasure upon the account of it's parks and other conveniences. For situation, contrivance, building, prospect, and other necessities to make a compleat seat, it gives way to few in England. In this parish, is also a seat of the earl of Anglesey, with a park belonging to it.

From this Hatfield, most of our historians affirm that William de Hatfield, son of king Edward III. took his name; though it was really from Hatfield in Yorkshire: Where, to the neighbouring abbey of Roch, queen Philippa gave five marks, and five nobles per annum to the Monks, to pray for the soul of this her son: and the sums, being transferr'd to the church of York, are now paid by the earl of Devonshire. From Hatfield, the Lea passes on to Hertford, which in some copies of Bede is written Herudford, in that passage where he treats of a synod holden there, A. D. 670, which name some will have to signify the red ford, (a name, that would agree well enough to the south and west parts of the county, where the soil is a red earth mix'd with gravel;) and others the ford of harts. It is called in Saxon Heoncro-no; a name, no doubt, taken from a hart, with which sort one may easily imagine such a woody country to have formerly abounded. Hartingford adjoining makes also for that opinion: and the arms of the town, which (if rightly represented by Spede) are a hart couchant in the water, should seem to put it beyond dispute, that this at least was the tradition; and yet two late writers (contrary to the plain import of the Saxon name) do still chuse, rather to interpret it a red ford; contending at the same time (partly, from that analogy of the names,) that it was the *Durcubriva* of Antoninus, which they say, in British, implies as much as a red-water-passage.

This town, in the time of William the conqueror, as we find in Domesday-book, discharged it self for ten hides, and there were in it twenty six burghes. But in our days it is but thinly inhabited; being chiefly considerable for its antiquity: For the whole county took its name from it, and it still continues the shire-town. It hath a castle seated upon the river Lea, which is thought to have been built by Edward the elder; and was enlarged first by the family of Clare,

to whom it belonged. For Gislebert de Clare, about the time of Henry II. had the title of earl from this Hertford; and Robert Fitz-Walter, who was of the same house of Clare, when king Stephen seized into his hands all the castles of England, directly told the king himself (as we read in Matthew Paris) that by ancient right the custody of that castle belonged to him. After that, it came to the crown, and king Edward III. granted to his son John of Gaunt, then earl of Richmond, afterward duke of Lancaster, this castle, together with the town and honour of Hertford; that there (as the words run in the grant) he might keep a house suitable to his quality, and have a decent habitation. Here is a very fair school, founded by Richard Hale, a native of this county, who endowed it with forty pounds per annum.

From hence the river Lea quickly reacheth Ware, so named from a sort of dam anciently made there to stop the current; commonly called a weare or a ware. Which, as it is confirmed by an abundance of waters thereabouts, that might put them under a necessity of such contrivances; so particularly, from the inundation in the year 1408, when it was almost all drowned; since which time (says Norden) and before, there was great provision made by wayres and sluices for the better preservation of the town, and the grounds belonging to the same. The plenty of waters hereabouts, gave occasion to that ingenious and useful project of cutting the channel from hence to London, and conveying thither the new-river; to the great convenience and advantage of that city. Which river was at first called also Middleton's waters, from Sir Hugh Middleton, a great undertaker in that work. For the better effecting of this, two several acts of parliament were granted to the city of London; who finding it too chargeable and thereupon desisting, Sir Hugh Middleton himself (assisted by divers gentlemen) brought the river near the city; and for the completing of this design, and preserving of the river, a corporation was erected 17 Jac. I. by the name of the governors and company of the New River, &c. This town was first very prejudicial to Hertford; and now by its populousness hath quite eclipsed it. For in the time of the barons wars with king John, under the countenance and protection of its lord the baron of Wake, it presumed to turn the high-road hither; whereas before that time it was a small Village, and no waggons could pass hither over the river, by reason of a chain drawn cross the bridge, the key whereof was always in the custody of the bailiff of Hertford. Much about the same time Gilbert Marshal earl of Pembroke, then the principal peer of England, pro-

proclaimed a tournament on horse-back at this place, under the name of a *Fortuny*, designing thereby to elude the force of the king's proclamation, by which tournaments had been prohibited. This drew hither a very great concourse of nobility and gentry; and when he came himself to make his career, his horse unfortunately broke the bridle and threw him, and he was, in a miserable manner, trampled to death. These tournaments were publick exercises of arms, practised by noblemen and gentlemen; and were more than meer sports or diversions. They were first instituted (if we may believe Munster) in the year of our Lord 934, and were managed by their own particular laws, which may be seen in the same author. For a long time, this practice was continued in all parts, to that degree of madness, and with so great a slaughter of persons of the best quality, especially here in England, from the time king Stephen had brought it in; that the church was forced by several canons expressly to forbid them, with this penalty annexed, that whoever should happen to be slain therein, should be denied christian burial. And under king Henry III. by advice of parliament, it was enacted, that the offenders estates should be forfeited and their children disinherited. And yet in contempt of that good law, this evil and pernicious custom prevailed long after, and was not wholly laid aside till the reign of king Edward III.

Betwixt the two towns, Ware and Hertford, which are scarce two miles asunder, Lea is encreased by two small rivers from the north. After names them *Mimera* and *Beneficia*; I should guess that to be the *Beneficia*, upon which Bennington stands; where the Bentleys, a noted family, had formerly a small castle: And that to be the *Mimera* which passeth by *Puckerich*, a place that obtained the privilege of a market and fair by the grant of Edward I which was procured by the interest of William le Bland. Behind *Puckerich*, is *Munden Furnivall*; which deserves to be mentioned on this account, that it had for its lord, Gerard de *Furnivall* (from whom also it took its name) a younger son of Gerard *Furnivall* of *Sheffield*. But now let us return to the river *Lea* and the town of *Ware*; as far as which place the Danes came up the river in their light pinnaces, as *Affer* relates, and there built a fort: Which when king *Alfred* could not take by force he dug three new channels, and did so turn the waters of the *Lea* out of their old course to hinder the return of their fleet, that from that time the river was of very little use to the neighbourhood; till it was long since restored to its ancient channel, and made more commodious for the conveyance of wares, corn, &c. The *Lea*, soon after it  
hath

Each left Ware, receives from the east a small river named Stort, which first runneth by Bishop Stortford, a little town, fortified with a small castle standing upon an hill, raised by art within a little island. Which castle William the conqueror gave to the bishops of London; whence it came to be called Bishops Stortford. But king John, out of hatred to bishop William de S. Maria, made bishop, ann 1199. the same year he came to the crown,) demolished it. It seems to have been of great strength, having within it a dark and deep dungeon, called the convict's prison; but that this name denotes some great privileges formerly belonging to it, I dare not (with a late author) affirm; believing it to be no other, than the prison which the bishop of London might probably have in that place, for the safe-keeping of clerks convict. In one of the windows of the church, are the names of king Athelstan, St. Edward, and king Edward; but of no other later kings.

From thence the Lea passeth on to Hunsdon, which place, by the favour of queen Elizabeth, gave the title of baron to Sir Henry Cav, then lord chamberlain. For, besides that he was descended from that family of the dukes of Somerset which was of the blood royal, he also was by his mother Mary Bolen, cousin-german to queen Elizabeth. The Lea, having received this small river, hasteneth with a more full and brisk current toward the Thames; and in it's passage thither, salutes Theobald-house, commonly called Tibaulds, a place, than which, as to the fabrick nothing could be more elegant; and as to the gardens, walks, and wildernesses, nothing more pleasant. This house was built by that nestor of Britain, the right honourable baron Burleigh lord treasurer of England (to whom more particularly this river is obliged for the recovery of it's ancient channel,) and was very much improv'd by his son Robert, who exchanged it with king James I. for Hatfield-house. In the year 1651, during the civil wars, it was quite defac'd, and the plunder of it shar'd among the soldiers.

But now let us return to the heart of the county, where are places more ancient. Twelve miles west from Hertford, stood Verolanium, in old time a very famous city. Tacitus calls it Verulamium; and Ptolemy, Urolanium, and Verolanium. The situation of the place is well known to have been close by the town of St. Albans in Caltho hundred (which hundred was, without doubt, inhabited by those Cassi, of whom Caesar makes mention.) The Saxons call'd it Watlinga-caster, from the famous high-way named Watlingstreet; and Werlam-caster. Nor hath it yet lost it's ancient name; for it is still common-ly

ly call'd Verulam, altho' nothing of that remains, besides the ruins of walls, chequer'd pavements, and Roman coins which they now and then dig up. Some of the Roman bricks do also still appear; and the great church here was built out of the ruins of old Verulam; for altho' time and weather have made the outside look like stone, yet if you break them, or go up to the tower, the redness of the brick presently appears. About the year 1666, here was found a copper coin, which had on one side Romulus and Remus sucking the wolf, and on the other Rome, but was much defaced.

The town was seated on the side of a gentle hill, to the east; and was fortified with very strong walls, a double rampire, and deep trenches to the south. And on the east, it had a small rivulet, which formerly made on that side a large mere or standing water: Whereupon, it has been conjectur'd, that this was the town of Callicbel nus (so well defended by woods and marshes,) which was taken by Caesar. For there is not, that I know of, any other mere hereabouts. In Nero's time, it was esteemed a municipium; which gave occasion to Ninius, in his catalogue of cities, to call it Caer Municipi. So that, there is no doubt but this was that Caer Municipium, which Hubert Goltzius found in an old inscription. These municipia were towns, whose inhabitants enjoyed the rights and privileges of Roman citizens. And the name arose *a muneribus capiendis*, i. e. from their capacity to bear publick offices in the commonwealth. As to orders and degrees, they had their decuriones (senators or masters,) their equites (or gentlemen;) and their commons: As to their publick council, they had a senate and people; as to their magistrates and priests, they had their duumviri and triumviri to administer justice; and also their censors, aediles, quaestors, and flamins. But whether this our Verulam was a municipium, with suffrages, or without, is not easy to determine. A municipium with suffrages they call'd that, which was capable of publick honours; as they call'd the other which was incapable, a municipium without suffrages. In the reign of the same Nero, when Boudicca or Boadicia, queen of the Iceni, out of an inveterate hatred of the Romans, had raised a bloody war against them, this town (as Tacitus writes) was by the Britains entirely ruined. Of which Suetonius makes mention in these words: *These miseries, which were the effects of that prince's inhumanity, were attended with great slaughter in Britain, where \* two of the chief towns in that island were sack'd, with a*

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\* Verulam and Maldon.

terrible slaughter both of Roman citizens and their allies. Yet afterward, this city flourished again, and grew up to a great degree of eminency. And I have seen several pieces of ancient money, which in all probability were coin'd here, with this inscription, TASCIA; and on the reverse VER. which the most inquisitive and learned antiquary, David Powel, S. T. P. interprets, The tribute of Verulam. For Taic (as he says) in the British signifies tribute, Tascia a tribute-penny, and Tascyd the chief collector of tribute.

Some will have it, that these pieces were coin'd before the coming in of the Romans: But I am not of their mind. For I have always thought them to be the tribute money which the Romans (as I observ'd before) were wont every year to raise by poll, and by a land-tax. For before the coming of the Romans, I can scarce think that the Britains coin'd money. And yet I am not unmindful of what Cæsar writes of them: They use, saith he, brass money, or rings of iron made to a certain weight; where ancient copies have Lancies ferries, for which the critics have substituted Laminis ferreis, i. e. plates of iron. But it would be impertinent to repeat my former discourse upon this subject: Let us therefore return to the business in hand. As to Verulam; no one thing was so great an honour to it, as that it brought forth St. Alban, a person deservedly eminent for his piety, and steadiness in the Christian faith: Who, when Dioclesian, by all sorts of torments, endeavoured the utter extirpation of the christian religion, did with an invincible constancy of mind suffer martyrdom, the first man in Britain. For which reason he is called our Stephen, and protomartyr of Britain; and Fortunatus Presbyter mentions him thus:

*Albanum egregium facunda Britannia profert.*

And fruitful Britain holy Alban shews.

Also Hiericus a Frenchman, who flourish'd eight hundred years since, gives an account in verse of St. Alban's martyrdom; and how his executioner was, by a miracle, struck blind.

*Millia panarum Christi pro nomine passus,  
Quem tandem rapuit capitis sententia cæsi.  
Sed non lictori cessit res tuta superbo,  
Utque caput Sancto, ceciderunt lumina sævo.*

After a thousand sufferings for the faith,  
 When judg'd at last to end them all with death;  
 The bloody victor did just heaven surprize.  
 And as the saint his head, the villain lost his eyes.

In an old agonal, or history of his passion, we are told that the citizens of Verulam caused an account of his suffering to be expressed on a marble; which they plac'd in their town walls, as a publick disgrace to him, and a terror to all christians. But afterwards, when the blood of martyrs had overcome the cruelty of tyrants, the christians built a church here to his memory; which, as Bede tells us, was a piece of most admirable workmanship. And now Verulam came to be so much revered for it's sanctity, that an. dom. 429. a synod was held here upon occasion of the Pelagian heresy, which was spread a-new over the island by Agricola, son to Severianus, a bishop; and had so generally infected the British churches, that, to maintain the true faith, they were forc'd to send into France for Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, bishop of Troies; who, confuting the heresy, rendered themselves thereby very venerable to the Britains; especially St. German, as appears by the many churches dedicated to him in this island. Particularly, there is still remaining, near the walls of this ruin'd city, a small chapel, which bears that saint's name, tho' otherwise profanely employed. It stands in the very place where St. German preached to the people; for which we have the authority of some ancient records of St. Alban's church. We are told farther by Constantius (who lived at the same time) in the life of St. German, that he caused the sepulchre of St. Alban to be open'd, and plac'd therein the reliques of certain saints, that they, whom one heaven had received, might also rest together in one sepulchre. I take notice of this by the way, that we may hence collect what was the custom of that age. Not long after, Verulam fell into the hands of the Saxons; but Uther the Britain, for his serpentine subtilty surnamed Pendragon, recover'd it, with much difficulty, and after a very tedious siege. After whose death, it fell again into the same hands. For Gildas's words plainly enough intimate, that the Saxons in his days were possess'd of this city. God, saith he, *both lighted up unto us the most clear lamps of his saints; whose burial-places, as well as the places of their passion, might excite in our souls a great fervour of divine love every time we cast our eyes upon them, if (as a punishment to our great wickedness,) the Barbarians had not been suffered to*

us of them: I mean, *St. Alban at Verulam, &c.* Verulam was now quite ruin'd by these wars, when about the year of our lord 795. Offa, the most potent king of the Mercians, founded over-against it in a place they call'd Holmehurst, a very large and stately monastery to the memory of St. Alban, or as his charter expresses it, unto our Lord Jesus Christ, and to *St. Alban the Martyr, whose reliques the divine grace hath preserv'd, as a hopeful pledge both of our present prosperity, and of our future happiness.* Together with the monastery, there presently grew up a town, which from the Saint took the name of St. Alban's. The same king Offa, and several other kings of England his successors, did bestow on this monastery very large possessions, and obtain for it from divers popes very ample privileges. I will here recite a passage to that purpose out of Florilegus; that you may observe the extraordinary liberality of our princes to the church. Thus therefore he. *The most mighty king Offa gave to St. Alban the Protomartyr a town of the royal demesne, which is distant about twenty miles from Verulam, and is called Uneslaco, and many other lands round about, as may be seen in that king's charter, kept to this day in the said monastery. The immunities and privileges whereof are so large and peculiar, that it is exempt from paying the apostolical duty to the Pope, call'd † Romescot; whereas neither the king nor archbishop, nor any other bishop, abbot, or prior, nor any other person whatever in the whole Kingdom, is exempted from this payment: This place alone is exempt. Furthermore, the Abbot, or a Monk acting as archdeacon under him, exercises episcopal jurisdiction over all the clergy and laity residing on any of the lands appertaining to the monastery; so that the abbot hereof is not subject to any archbishop, bishop, or legate, but to the Pope alone. This also deserves our observation, that when the magnificent prince Offa made a gift of the pope of the peter-pence of his Kingdom; he obtained this particular privilege for the church of St. Alban the protomartyr of England, that that church might collect and retain to it's own use, all the romescot or peter-pence throughout Hertfordshire, in which county that church stands. Wherefore, as the church it self by the king's grant enjoys all manner of royalities, so the abbot of the place for the time being hath all episcopal ornaments. Also, Pope Hadrian 4. who was born near Verulam, granted to the abbots of this monastery (these are the words of the privilege) That as St. Alban is well known to be the protomartyr of the English nation, so the abbot of his monastery should in all times be reputed the first, in dignity, of all the abbots*

\* Perhaps Wineflow.

† That is, of every house a penny.  
X 2

*in England.* Neither did the abbots neglect any improvements that might be useful or ornamental to it; filling up with earth a large pool or mere which lay under the town of Verulam. The memory of this pool remains in a certain street of the town called Fishpool-street. Near which, when anchors happen'd in our memory to be dug-up some (led into a mistake by a corrupt place in Gildas) presently concluded, that the Thames had formerly had it's course this way. But concerning this mere or fishpool, an ancient historian writes thus: *Alfric the abbot purchas'd for a great sum of money a large and deep pool called Fishpool, which by its vicinity was very prejudicial to the church of St. Alban. For the fishery belonged to the crown, and the king's officers and others that came to fish, were troublesome and chargeable to the monastery and the Monks. The said abbot therefore drain'd the water out of the pool, and turn'd it into dry land.*

If I should lay stress upon the stories common among the people viz. how great plenty of Roman coins, how many images of gold and silver, how many vessels, how many marble pillars, how many capitals in fine, how many wonderful pieces of ancient work, have been fetch'd out of the earth; I could not, in reason, expect to be credited. However, take this short account, upon the credit of an ancient historian: *Ealdred the abbot, in the reign of king Edgar, searching the old subterranean vaults of Verulam, broke them all down, and stopp'd up the ways and passages under ground which were arch'd over very artificially, and very firmly built; some whereof were carried under that water, which in old time almost encompassed the whole city. This he did, because they were ordinary lurking places of thieves and whores. He fill'd up the ditches of the city, and stopp'd up certain caves thereabouts, whither malefactors us'd to fly for refuge. He laid aside all the tiles, and such stones as he found fit for building. He by the bank, they happen'd upon oaken planks, with nails sticking in the cover'd with pitch; as also some other shipping-tackle, particularly, one half eaten with rust, and oars of fir. And a little after, Eadmer his successor went forward with the work which Ealdred had begun, and his diggers met with the foundation of a palace in the middle of the old city; and a hollow place in the wall, contriv'd like a small closet, they happen'd upon books having covers of oak and silk strings; one whereof contain'd the life of St. Alban in the British language; the rest contain'd certain Pagan ceremonies. When they had open'd the earth to a greater depth, they met with old stone tables, tiles also and pillars, pots, and great earthen vessels neatly wrought, and others of glass containing the ashes of the dead, &c. And at last, of these remains of old Verulam, Eadmer built a new monastery to St. Alban.*

Thus much of the antiquity and dignity of Verulam. For the honour of it, give me leave, by way of corollary, to add this hexastic of Alexander Necham, who was born there \* 400 years ago.

*Urbs insignis erat Verolamia, plus operosæ  
Arti, naturæ debuit illa minus.  
Pendragon Arthuri Patris hæc obsessa laborem  
Septennem sprexit cive superba suo.  
Hic est Martyrii roseo decoratus honore  
Albanus civis, inclita Roma, tuus.*

To ancient Verulam a famous town  
Much kindness art hath shew'd, but nature none.  
Great Arthur's fire Pendragon's utmost power  
For seven long years did the proud walls endure.  
Here holy Alban, citizen of Rome,  
Obtain'd the happy crown of martyrdom.

And in another place;

*Hic locus ætatis nostræ primordia novis  
Annos felices, lætitiæque dies :  
Hic locus ingenuus pueriles imbuit annos  
Artibus, & nostræ laudis origo fuit.  
Hic locus insignis, magnosque creavit alumnos,  
Felix eximio Martyre, gente, situ.  
Militat hic Christo, nocteque dieque labori  
Invigilat sancto Religiosa cohors.*

Here my first breath with happy stars was drawn,  
Here my glad years, and all my joys, began ;  
In gradual knowledge here my mind increas'd ;  
Here the first sparks of glory fir'd my breast.  
Hail noble town ! where fame shall ne'er forget  
The saint, the citizens, and happy seat.  
Here heaven's true soldiers, with unwearied care,  
And pious labour, wage the Christian war.

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\* So said, ann. 1607.

But now old Verulam is turned into corn-fields, and St. Albans flourishes; which rose out of the ruins of it; and is a neat and large town. The church of the monastery is still in being; a pile of building, very much admired for its largeness, beauty, and antiquity. When the monks were turned out, it was by the townsmen purchased for four hundred pounds (otherwise it had been laid even with the ground;) and converted into a parochial church. It had in it a very noble font of solid brass, wherein the children of the kings of Scotland were wont to be baptized. Which font Sir Richard Lea, commander of the pioneers, brought hither among the rest of the spoils taken in the Scotch wars, and plac'd it here with this proud inscription:

CUM LÆTHIA OPIDUM APUD SCOTOS NON INCELEBRE. ET EDINBURGUS PRIMARIA APUD EOS CIVITAS INCENDIO CONFLAGRARENT, RICHARDUS LEUS EQUES AURATUS ME FLAMMIS EREPTUM AD ANGLOS PERDUXIT. HUIUS EGO TANTI BDNEFICII MEMOR, NON NISI REGUM LIBEROS LAVARE SOLITUS, NUNC MEAM OPERAM ETIAM INFIMIS ANGLORUM LIBENTER CONDIXI. LEUS VICTOR SIC VOLUIT. VALE. ANNO DOMINI. M.D.XLIII. ET ANNO REGNI HENRICI OCTAVI XXXVI.

*When Leith, a town of good account in Scotland, and Edinburgh, the principal city of that nation, were on fire, Sir Richard Lea, Knight, saved me out of the flames, and brought me into England. In gratitude for this his deliverance, I who heretofore served only at the baptism of the children of kings, do now most willingly offer the same service even to the meanest of the English nation. Lea the conqueror hath so commanded. Adieu. A. D. 1543. in the 36th year of king Henry the eighth.*

This font is now taken away, in the late civil wars, as it seems, by those hands which suffer'd nothing (how sacred soever) to stand, that could be converted to money.

But to return. As antiquity hath consecrated this place to religion, so Mars seems to have made it a seat of war. To pass by other instances; when our nation had almost spent its vital spirits in the civil wars between the two houses of York and Lancaster, there were two battles fought within this very town, by the heads of the two parties, with different success. In the first fight, Richard duke of York defeated the Lancastrian party, took king Henry VI. prisoner, and slew a great many persons of the best quality. But four years after, the Lancastrians had the advantage under the  
conduct

conduct of queen Margaret, routed the Yorkists, and recovered their king. With the bodies of the slain in those two battles, the church and church-yard of St. Peter's were filled.

In the middle of this town, king Edward I erected a very stately cross, about the year 1290. in memory of queen Eleanor, who dying in Lincolnshire, was from thence carried to Westminster. The same he did, in several other places through which they pass'd. This place hath given title to several persons of honour; that of viscount to the famous Francis Bacon, lord Verulam, and lord chancellor of England, created viscount of this place Jan. 18. 1620. Afterwards, Richard de Burgh, earl of Clanrikard in the kingdom of Ireland, was created earl of St. Albans by king Charles I. and was succeeded in that honour by Ulick his son, with whom that title died for want of issue male. A little before the restoration, this honour was conferr'd upon Henry Jarmin, baron of St. Edmundsbury, for his faithful services to king Charles II. and afterwards, by the same king, it was erected into a dukedom, in the person of Charles Beauclair, who having, in the 28th year of the said king's reign, been created baron of Hedington, and earl of Burford, was, in the 35th year, advanced to the further dignity of duke of St. Albans.

About this town (to omit a certain fort in the neighbourhood, which the vulgar call the Oister-hills, but which I am apt to think was the camp of Ostorius the proprator) the abbots piously erected a little nunnery at Sopwell, and St. Julian's hospital for lepers; with another, named St. Mary \* de Pree, for infirm women. Near which they had a great manor named Goramberg, where Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seal of England, erected a structure worthy so great a person.

Near this place lieth Redborne, which signifieth a red-water; and yet the water that runneth by this place is no more red than that of the red-sea. It was very famous in old time for the reliques of Amphibalus the martyr, found here; who was the person that instructed St. Alban in the Christian faith; for which faith he also suffered under Dioclesian. At present, it is remarkable for the old military high-way, commonly call'd Watlingstreet, upon which it is seated; and also for a certain brook near it, call'd † Wenmer, which (as the common people believe) when ever it breaks out and swells high, always portends

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\* Of the Meadow.

† It is also call'd Womer.

dearth or troublesome times. This is said to have broken out in the reign of Edward IV. and to have run from the 19th of February till the 14th of June following. From which eruptions, a place upon this river commonly called Markat, but more truly Meregate, i. e. (saith Norden) an issue or out-gate of water, seems to have taken its name.

Near this, we have reason to look for Duroco-brivæ, a station, of which Antoninus makes mention (though, indeed, the distance would persuade us otherwise: For Redborne in our language, and Dur-cob in the British or Welch tongue, signifie one and the same thing to wit, red-water. Now, to search after the situation of ancient places, we have no better guides than ancient inscriptions, the course of the great roads, the reason and similitude of names, and the rivers, and lakes adjoining; although they do not exactly correspond to the several distances assigned in the itinerarie: Which may very well be corrupted, and the passage from one place to another may be cut shorter. And certainly the old Duroco-brivæ must have been seated in the same place, where that Roman high-way crossed this water, to wit, below Flamsted. For just at this place, near the way, at seven miles distance from Verulamium (though now, through negligence of transcribers, the number is changed to twelve,) a good large spring rises, and crosses it with a small stream; which, though here it has no name, below St. Albans is called Col. And as to the termination Brivæ, which is added to the names of very many places, it might signifie (as I suppose) among the ancient Britains and Gauls, a bridge, or passage over a river; since we find it no where used, but at rivers. In this Island there were one or two Durobrivæ, that is (unless I am much deceiv'd) passages over the water. In Gaul there was Brivæ Iaria, now Pontoise, where was the passage over the Isara or Yfere: Brivæ Odoræ, over the Odera: and Samarobriva (for that is the right name) over the Soame. Somewhat higher, upon a small hill, stands Flamsted, which, in the time of Edward the confessor, Leofstan abbot of St. Albans gave to three knights, Turnot, Waldef, and Turman, on condition that they should secure the neighbouring country for robberies. But William the conqueror took it from them, and gave it to Roger de Todnoy or Tony, an eminent Norman, whose barony also it was; but in time transfer'd by a daughter to the Beauchamps, earls of Warwick.

Hence I passed southward to Hemsted, a small market-town; call'd Hehan-hamsted, when king Offa made a grant of it to the monastery of St. Albans. It is seated among hills by the side of a small river, which,

which, a little lower, runs into another that goes through Berkhamsted. In this place, the nobles of England had a meeting, when by the persuasion of Fretheric Abbot of St. Albans, they were conspiring to throw off the new Norman government. Thither came William the conqueror in person (as we read in the life of this Fretheric) much concern'd, for fear he should, to his great disgrace, lose that kingdom which he had gained with so much blood. And after many debates in the presence of Lanfranc the archbishop; the king, to settle a firm peace, took an oath upon all the reliques of the church of St. Alban, and upon the holy evangelists, which the Abbot Fretheric administred, that he would inviolably observe all the good, approv'd, and ancient Laws of the kingdom, which the holy and pious kings of England his predecessors, and especially king Edward, had established. But most of these noblemens estates were soon after seized and confiscated by him, and he bestow'd this town upon Robert earl of Moriton and Cornwall, who, according to common tradition, built here a castle with a double ditch and rampart. In which castle, Richard, king of the Romans and earl of Cornwall, dy'd, full of days and honours. Upon default of issue of that earl, king Edward III. gave this town and castle to Edward his eldest son, that most renown'd and warlike prince, whom he created duke of Cornwall; from whence, to this day, it continues part of the possessions of the dutchy of Cornwall. The castle is now nothing but ruin'd walls, and one rude heap of stones; above which, upon a small hill, Sir Edward Cary knight, master of the jewel-house to the king (descended from the house of the Carys in Devonshire) built a noble and exceeding pleasant seat. Within the town it self, there is nothing worth seeing, except a school founded by J. Incent, dean of St. Pauls in London, who was a native of this town. More to the south, lyeth Kings-Langley, heretofore a seat of the kings where Edmund of Langley, son to Edward III. and duke of York, was born, and thence also named. Here was a small cell of friars prædicants, in which that unhappy prince Richard II. was first buried, after he had been barbarously deprived both of his kingdom and his life; but not long after, his body was removed to Westminster, and had a monument of brass bestowed upon it, to make amends for his kingdom. Almost opposite to this, is another Langley, which (because it belonged to the Abbots of St. Albans) is call'd Abbots-Langley; the place where Nicholas Breakspear was born, who was afterwards pope by the name of Hadrian IV. the same who first preached the christian faith to the people of Norway,

Norway, and also quieted the tumults of the people of Rome, at that time endeavouring to recover their ancient liberties. Frederic I. emperor of the Romans, held this pope's stirrup as he alighted from his horse; and at last he lost his life by a fly, that flew into his mouth and choked him. Lower, I saw Watford (to which the Morisons have been great benefactors,) and Rickmansworth; two market-towns; touching which we have nothing more ancient, than that king Offa bestowed them upon St. Alban, as he also did Caishobery that lies next to Watford. At which place, a house was begun by Sir Richard Morison; a person of great learning, and employed by Henry VIII. and Edward VI. in several embassies to the greatest princes in Europe; but he left it to his son Charles to finish, who made it a beautiful seat, and it is now, by inheritance, the possession of the earl of Essex, by the marriage of Arthur lord Capel with the daughter and heir of Sir Richard Morison. Near the foresaid Rickmansworth, is More-Park; which place, belonging formerly to the duke of Ormond, Thomas his eldest son was summoned to parliament in the life-time of his father, by the title of lord Butler of More-Park; but it was afterwards sold to James Duke of Monmouth.

More to the east, the Roman military way passed in a direct line from London to Verulam over Hamsted-heath, and so by Edgworth and Ellestre: Nigh which place, at the very same distance that Antoninus in his itinerary places the Sulloniacæ (to wit, twelve miles from London, and nine from Verulam) on the edge of Middlesex, there remain the marks of an ancient station; and much rubbish is dug-up on a hill which is now called Brockley-hill. Mr. Burton and Mr. Norden seem inclin'd to think Ellestre the old Sulloniacæ; yet it does not appear that any thing of antiquity has been discover'd there, nor does the old Roman way run through it; that place lying near a mile to the right hand. Thro' Edgware indeed, a mile south of Brockley, the way passes towards London; so that Mr. Talbot when he settled the Sulloniacæ there, had at least some shew of probability on his side. But no remains of antiquity appearing, there is, in truth no reason why it should be remov'd from Brockley-hill; especially, since of late, coins, urns, Roman bricks, &c. have been dug-up there (in the place where Mr. Napier built a fair new seat,) as well in laying the foundation of the house, as in levelling the gardens. Rarities of this kind have been also turned up with the plough, for about seven or eight acres round. The late annotator upon Antoninus, supposes there may be some remains of Sulloniacæ in Shenley, a place at some small distance, which

he says was formerly written Shellenay, and might as well be changed from Sulloniaca; as Tournay from Tornacum, Douay from Duacum, and Espernay from Sparnacum.

But to return. When the Roman government was at an end, and barbarity was introduced by the desolations of the Saxon wars; this great road, as all other things, lay quite neglected for a long time; till, a little before the Norman conquest, Leofstan Abbot of St. Albans repaired and restored it. "For he (as we read in his life) caused the great woods all along, from the edge of the Chiltern as far as London, to be cut down, especially upon the king's high-way, commonly called Watlingstreet; also, all high and broken grounds to be levelled, bridges to be built, and the ways made even for the convenience of passengers". But above four hundred years ago, this road was well-nigh deserted again, upon the opening of another through Highgate and Barnet, by licence from the bishop of London. Barnet begins now a-days to be an eminent market for cattle; but was much more eminent for a battle fought there in the wars between York and Lancaster: In which England inflicted upon it self whatever mischief ambition and treachery could effect. For at Gledsmore, hard by, the two parties, on an easter-day, had a sharp encounter, and for a long time, by reason of a thick fog, the event was doubtful. But at last, king Edward IV. happily gained the victory, and Richard Nevill earl of Warwick was slain; a man, whom the smiles of fortune had made strangely insolent and a particular enemy to crown'd heads; and who by his death freed England from those apprehensions of a continu'd civil war, which they had long labour'd under. Here, at Barnet, was discover'd a medicinal spring, supposed by the taste to run through veins of alom. It coagulates with milk, the curd whereof has been found to be an excellent plaister for green wounds.

This county of Hertford had earls that were of the family of Clare, who therefore were more commonly call'd earls of Clare, from Clare their principal seat in the county of Suffolk. The first that I have met with, was Gilbert, who is a witness to a charter of king Stephen, under the title of earl of Hertford. Likewise Roger de Clare, in the red-book in the Exchequer, bears the title of earl of Hertford in the reign of Henry II. as also his successors, whom you may see in their proper place, But when this family, by right of inheritance as well as by their prince's favour, came to be also earls of Gloucester, they bore the two titles jointly, and were summoned to parliament by the name of earls of Gloucester and Hertford. And accordingly

cordingly, Richard de Clare, who died An. Dom. 1262, is by Matthew of Westminster expressly called earl of Gloucester and Hertford, in the place where he recites his epitaph.

*Hic pudor Hippoloti, Paridis gena sensus Ulyssis,  
Æneæ pietas, Hectoris ira jacet.*

Here Hector's rage, Ulysses wisdom lays,  
Hippolitis his blush, and Paris face.

But within the memory of our fathers, king Henry VIII honoured Edward de St. Maur or Seymor, with the title of earl of Hertford, who was after ward created also duke of Somerset; to whom succeeded in this earldom his son of the same name, a person of great honour, and a true lover of learning. Who, being disposse'sed of all by the attainder of his father, was restored in the first year of queen Elizabeth, by letters patents bearing date the 13th of January, to the titles of lord Beauchamp, and earl of Hertford. Edward the only d. in the life-time of his father, and so did his eldest son of the same name. Whereupon he was succeeded by William his grandchild, who by kn. Charles I. for his eminent services, was advanced to the title of mar- quess of Hertford, and afterwards, upon the restoration of king Charles II. to that of duke of Somerset. Since which time the same persons have successively enjoyed both those honourable titles.

This county hath in it 120 parishes.

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### More rare PLANTS growing wild in Hertfordshire.

*Alfne montana minima Acini facie rotundifolia.* An *Alfnes minoris* d. *Thal. Hareyn?* Small mountainous round-leaved chick-weed, resembling stone-basil. In the mountainous parts of this county, on the borders of Buckinghamshire near Chalfont S. Peter. Found by Dr. Plukenet.

*Gentianella autumnalis centaurii minoris foliis* Park. Not far from the ruins of old Verulam. Park. p. 407.

*Hieracii seu pilosellæ majoris species humilis, foliis longioribus, rarius den- tatis, pluribus simul, flore singulari nostras.* On a dry bank at the edge of a wood.

a wood in a lane leading from Hornhill to Reickmeersworth. Dr. Plukenet.

*Lysimachia latea flore globoso* Ger. Park. Yellow loosestrife with a globular tuft of flowers: said to be found near Kings-Langley by Phyt. Brit.

*Mentha piperata*. Pepper-mint, or mint having the taste of pepper. Found in this county by Dr. Eales.

*Militaris aizoides* Ger. See the other synonyms in Cambridgeshire. Fresh water-foldier, or water-aloe. In the new ditches of Hatfield, P. D.

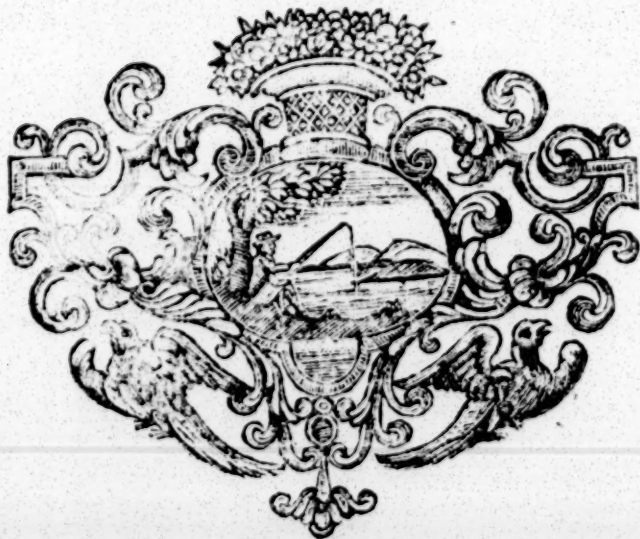
*Ophrys sphegodes* *bifolium palustre* Park. Marsh tway-blade. On the wet grounds between Hatfield and S. Albans. Park. p. 505.

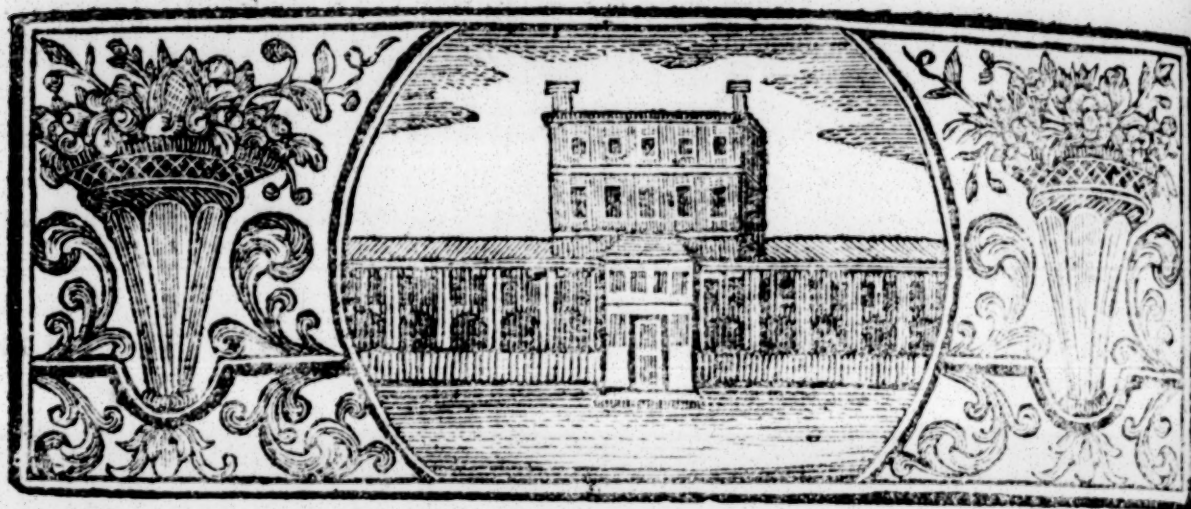
*Orchis myodes major* Park. *major flore grandiusculo* f. *B. muscam referens* major C. B. The greater fly-orchis. Found by Dr. Eales near Welling in Hertfordshire.

*Helleborine latifolia flore albo clauso*. Broad-leav'd bastard-hellebore with a white close flower. Found by Dr. Eales, near Diggeswell in this county.

*Spondylium montanum minus angustifolium tenuiter laciniatum*. Jagged cow-parsnep. Observed by Mr. Doody near Tring in this county.

*Campanula alpina minor rotundifolia* C. B. About Reickmeersworth in Hertfordshire, in an old gravel-pit there, observ'd by Dr. Plukenet.





# TRINOBANTES.



EXT the Cattiuchlani, did the people call'd by Caesar, Trinobantes, by Ptolemy and Tacitus, Trinoantes, inhabit those parts which have now chang'd their names and are call'd Middlesex and Essex. From whence that old name was deriv'd, I cannot so much as guess, unless it came from the British Tre-nant, implying, towns in a valley: For this whole country, in a manner, lies in a level all along the Thames. But this is a conjecture which I am not very fond of: Tho' those people which inhabited Gallovidgia in Scotland, lying all low, and in a vale, were call'd in British Noantes and Nouantes; and the ancient people nam'd Nantuates, lived about Le Vault, or the Vale of the Rhine, and had their name thence. So that this conjecture is at least as probable as that of others, who out of a spirit of ambition have deriv'd these Trinobantes from Troy, as if one should say Troja Nova, or New Troy. And let them enjoy their own imaginations for me. In Caesar's time, this was one of the strongest cities in the

where

whole kingdom (for such a body of people as liv'd under the same common laws and government, he always calls Civitas, or a city,) and was govern'd by Imanuentius, who was slain by Cassibelin. Upon this, Mandubratius his son fled for his life, went over into Gaul to Cæsar, put himself under his protection, and return'd with him into Britain. At which time, these our Trinobantes desir'd Cæsar by their ambassadors to espouse the cause of Mandubratius against Cassibelin, and to send him into the city, as deputy-governor. This was granted them; upon which they gave forty hostages, and, the first of all the Britains, submitted themselves to Cæsar. This Mandubratius (to observe it by the way) is by Eutropius, Bede, and the more modern writers, call'd always Androgeus. But how this difference of the name should come, is a mystery to me; unless it be true, what I was told by one very well skill'd both in the history and language of the Britains, that the name of Androgeus was fix'd upon him on account of his villany and treachery. For the word plainly carries in its meaning something of villany; and he (in the book call'd Triades) is reckon'd the most villainous of those three traitors to Britain, because he was the first that call'd in the Romans, and betray'd his country. After Mandubratius (when civil wars at home drew the Romans from the care of Britain, and so the kingdom was left to its own kings and laws;) it plainly appears, that Cunobilin had the government of these parts.

Adminius his son, who was banish'd by his father, went over with a small body of men to C. Caligula; to whom he surrender'd himself. This so buoy'd up the young emperor, that, as if he had conquer'd the whole island, he sent boasting letters to Rome, ordering the messengers over and over, that they should not be deliver'd to the consuls but in the temple of Mars, or in a full senate. After the death of Cunobilin, Aulus Plautius by commission from the emperor Claudius, made an attempt upon this country. Togodumnus, one of Cunobilin's sons, he slew; the other, Caratacus, he conquer'd; and (as it is in the Fasti Capitolini) had a triumph decreed upon it, with so much splendor and greatness, that (as Suetonius tells us) Claudius himself walk'd side by side with him, both as he went into the Capitol and came out of it. Then the emperor in person presently transports his forces, and in a few months reduces it into the form of a province. From that time, the Trinobantes had no more wars; only, under Nero they enter'd into a combination with the Iceni to shake off the Roman yoke: But this insurrection was quickly suppress'd by Petronius Paulinus, and (as Tacitus has deliver'd it) not without great slaughter on the side of the Britains. When the Roman government in this island came to an end, Vortigern the Britain (as Ninnius tells us) being

being taken prisoner by the Saxons, gave this country for his ransom; which, for a long while after, had its kings, but they were such only as held under the kings of Kent, or Mercia. Of these, Seberht was the first that embrac'd Christianity in the year 603. And Cuthred was the last of them, who being conquer'd by Egbert in the year 804. left the kingdom to the West Saxons. But of these things, I have spoken more largely in another place: Now let us survey the county it self.

## M I D D L E S E X.



**M**IDDLESEX has its name from the middle-Saxons because the inhabitants of it liv'd in the midst of the east, west, and South-Saxons, and of those whom in that age they called Mercians. It is divided from Buckinghamshire westward by the little river Cole, from Hertfordshire northward by a certain known limit, from Essex eastward by the river Lee, and southward from Surrey and Kent by the Thames. The county is very small; being at longest but twenty miles, and where narrowest, only twelve. The air is exceeding healthful, and the soil fertile, the houses and villages every where neat and stately, and there is no part of it but affords a great many remarkable.

Upon the river Cole, at its first entrance into this county, I met with Breakspear, the ancient seat of a family of that name, of which was descended Pope Hadrian IV. mentioned a little before. Some miles to the west, is Cannons, the beautiful seat of the duke of Chandos. Nigh to Breakspear, and on the same river, is Haresfield, formerly Herefelle, the possession of Richard son of Gislebert, in the time of William the conqueror. More to the south, Uxbridge, a me-  
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ern town, and full of inns, is stretch'd out into a great length ; famous in the last age, by a treaty there held January 30 1644. the time of king Charles I. between the king, and parliament then sitting at Westminster ; the particulars of which are largely related by our historians. Near Uxbridge in the parish of Hedgerly, is an ancient camp, which seems to be British. Below it, is Draiton, built by the barons Paget ; now advanced to the honour of earls of Uxbridge, in the person of Henry Paget ; who (besides the said hereditary title of baron,) did, before, enjoy also the title of lord Paget of Draiton ; having been created a peer of this realm, by that title, in the lifetime of his father. Hard by, is Colham, which came from the sons le Strange to the earls of Derbe ; and Stanwell, the seat of the family of Windesore, from the coming-in of the conqueror, till within the memory of \* our fathers. Not far from hence, the Cole, after it has made some islands, slides through a double mouth into the Thames on which, as a German poet of our age, describes it.

*Tot campos, sylvas, tot regia tella, tot hortos  
Artifici dextra excultos, tot vidimus arces,  
Ut nunc Ansonio Tamisis cum Tybride certet.*

Such fields, such woods, such stately piles appear,  
Such gardens grace the earth, such tow'rs the air ;  
That Thames with Roman Tiber may compare.

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Stanes, in Saxon Stana, offers it self first, in the very western limit, there is a † wooden bridge over the Thames. As to the name, it is derived from a boundary-stone formerly set up here, to mark out the extent of the city of London's jurisdiction in the river ; and not (as some would have it) from a Roman milliarium here placed. For Stanes doth lie upon the Roman way betwixt London and Pontes, or any other of that kind ; upon which the milliaria or mile-stones were only set. An army of Danes in the year 1009. After they had burnt Oxford, coming along the Thames side, and hearing that an army from Lon-

\* So said ann. 1607.

† Sublicius.

don was coming against them, past the river at this town, as the Saxon chronicle tells us; and so went into Kent, to repair their ships. Near the forementioned stone, there is a famous meadow call'd *Runing-mead*, and commonly *Renimed*, wherein was a great meeting of the nobility in the year 1215. to demand their liberties of king John. Upon the Thames's running by that place, the author of the marriage of Tame and Isis has these lines:

*Subluit hic pratum, quod dixit Renimed Anglus,  
Quo sedere duces armis annisque verendi,  
Regis Joannis cuperent qui vertere sceptrum,  
Edwardi sancti dum leges juraque vellent  
Principe contempto tenebroso e carcere duci:  
Hinc sonuere tubæ plusquam civilia bella,  
Venit & hinc refugus nostras Lodovicus in oras.*

Now *Renimed* upon the bank appears,  
Where men renown'd for honour arms, and years,  
Met to reform the state, controul the king,  
And Edward's laws from long oblivion bring.  
Hence more than civil wars the land oppress,  
And Lewis with his French the rebels strength increas.

Then it passes by *Coway-stakes* near *Lalam*, where (as we have observed) *Cæsar* pass'd the *Thames*, and the *Britains*, to prevent him obstructed the bank and ford with stakes; from whence it has its name. At *Sheparton*, hard by, is an enclosed ground call'd *Warre-Close*, which have been dug-up spurs, swords, &c. with great numbers of men's bones; and at a little distance, to the west, part of a Roman camp is still visible. Gliding from hence, the *Thames* takes a view of *Harrow*, the highest hill in this county, which on the south has very fruitful fields for a long way together; especially about the little village of *Heston*, the wheat-flower whereof has been particularly much in choice of by our kings, for their own bread. By reason of its great height, it was also chosen by *William Bolton*, the last prior of *St. Bartholomew's* in *Smithfield*, on which to build him a house, to preserve him from a deluge that was prognosticated from certain eclipses in watery signs, and was to happen in the year 1524. With this, not only the vulgar, but also learned men, were so unreasonably infatuated

that they victualled themselves (as both Hall and \* Speed confidently report) and went to high grounds, for fear of being drown'd. Amongst whom, was this prior, who not only provided himself with a house here at Harrow, but carried all sorts of provisions with him thither, to serve for the space of two months. Mr. † Stow, I acknowledge, would have all this to be a fable, and that prior Bolton being also parson of Harrow, did only repair his parsonage-house, and build a dovecoat to serve him with that sort of fowl, after he was spoiled of his priory; but the date of this deluge, and the dissolution of the priory (which was not till Anno. 1539. 30 Henry VIII.) do not agree; and therefore those historians are not to be reconciled. At a little distance from thence is Hanworth, where was a royal, tho' but small house; much admir'd by king Henry VIII. as being his chief pleasure-seat. Afterwards, it glides by Hampton-Court, a royal palace, and a very magnificent structure, built by cardinal Thomas Wo sey purely out of ostentation, to show his great wealth; a person upon all other accounts exceeding prudent, but that pride and insolence carry'd him beyond himself. It was enlarg'd and finish'd by king Henry VIII. and has five large courts set round with neat buildings, the work whereof is exceeding curious. It was also erected into an honour, in the 31st year of that prince. Leland has this stroke upon it:

*Est locus insolito rerum splendore superbus,  
Alluiturque vaga Tamisii fluminis unda,  
Nomine ab antiquo jam tempore dictus Avona.  
Hic rex Henricus taleis Octavius ædes  
Erexit, qualem toto sol aureus orbe  
Non vidit.*

A place, which nature's choicest gifts adorn,  
Where Thame's kind streams in gentle currents turn,  
The name of Hampton hath for ages born.  
Here such a palace shows great Henry's care,  
As Sol ne're views from his exalted sphere  
In all his tedious stage.——

And the marriage of Tame and Isis, this:

\* Chron. p. 1014.

† Survey, p. 417, 419.

*Alluit Hamptonam celebrem quæ laxior urbis  
Mentitur formam spatiis; hanc condidit aulam  
Purpureus pater ille gravis, grauis ille sacerdos  
Wolfæus, fortuna favos cui felle repletos  
Obtulit, heu tandem fortunæ dona, dolores.*

To Hampton runs, whose state and beauty shows  
A city here contracted in a house.  
This the grave prelate Wolsey's care begun,  
To whom blind Fortune's arts were fully known,  
And all her smiles dash'd with one fatal frown.

This being environ'd, both house and parks, on three sides with the river Thames, and consequently enjoying as pleasant a situation, as the prudence of its first founder, cardinal Wolsey, could select for it; was indeed a piece of work of great beauty and magnificence, for the age it was built in. But the additions made to it by king William and queen Mary, do so far excel what it was before, that they evidently shew what vast advancements architecture has receiv'd since that time. The gardens are also improv'd to a wonderful degree, not only in the walks both open and close, and the great variety of topiary-works; but with green-houses, having stoves under them so artificially contriv'd, that all foreign plants are there preserved in gradual heats, suitable to the climes of their respective countries whereof they are natives. The whole is contriv'd with so much magnificence, as equals, if not exceeds, the most noble palaces.

From hence the river fetches a large winding toward the north to Giffleworth (for so our Thistleworth was formerly call'd) where was once a palace of Richard, king of the Romans, and earl of Cornwall, which was burnt by the Londoners in an insurrection.

Next we see Sion, a small religious house, (so call'd from the holy mount of that name,) which Henry V. after he had driven out the monks aliens, built for nuns of St. Briget; as he erected another at the same time, call'd Bethelhem, opposite to this, on the other side of the river, for the Carthusians. In this Sion, to the glory of God, plac'd as many virgins, priests, and lay-brethren, within several partitions, as amounted to the number of the apostles and disciples of Christ: And having given them very ample revenues, even beyond what was necessary, he made a special order that they should be con-

with that, and not receive any thing from other hands; but that so much of the yearly revenue, as was over and above their maintenance, they should give to the poor. But upon the general expulsion of the religious within the memory of \* our fathers, it was turned into a country house of the duke of Somerset, who pull'd down the church, and begun a new house. Hard by, is Brentford (which receiv'd that name from the little river Brent,) where Edmund Ironside, after he had oblig'd the Danes to draw off from the siege of London, attack'd them so successfully that he forc'd them to a disorderly flight, wherein he kill'd great numbers of them. Here the Thames was anciently so easily forded, and is so still (I mean at old Brentford, there being now at low ebb not above three foot water) that, beside the foregoing instance, † king Edmund pass'd the Thames again, at the same place, and went thence into Kent after the enemy, where he prevail'd so against them, that he drove them into Shepey. Since which time, we do not find any thing of moment that hath happen'd here, till 1642. when king Charles I. (coming after his victory at Edghill with his forces from Oxford towards London) with the loss of but ten men beat two of the best regiments of the parliament forces out of this town, kill'd their commander in chief, took five hundred prisoners, as many arms, eleven colours and fifteen pieces of canon, and then march'd to Oatlands, Reading, and so back again to Oxford. In which action, Patric Ruthen, earl of Forth in Scotland, performing the part of an expert and valiant commander, was first made general of the king's army; and in further consideration of his services, was by letters patents, bearing date at Oxford May 27, 20 Car. I. advanced to the dignity of an earl, by the title of earl of Brentford; on account (no doubt) of the particular service he did here.

Near the Roman highway which passes through this town, and so over Hounslow-heath towards Ponies, lies the village of Arlington, alias Harlington, which having been the ancient seat of the Bennets, and particularly of Sir Henry Bennet, principal secretary of state, and one of the privy council to king Charles II. when his majesty thought fit to set a mark of honour on him, for the many services he had done the crown, he was first created baron, and afterwards earl of Arlington, and quickly after made knight of the garter, and in September 1674, lord chamberlain of the household. On the north end of this

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\* So said, ann. 1607.

† Chron. Sax. in ann. 1016.

heath, towards Kings-arbour, is a Roman camp, a single work, and not large; and another about a mile distant from it.

From Stanes to Brentford, all that which lies between the high road along Hounslow and the Thames, was call'd the Forest or Warren of Stanes; till Henry III. (as we read in his charter) deforested and de-warren'd it. Next, we see Chesswick, a neat village, adorned with several beautiful seats; and Fulham, in Saxon Fullon-ham, i. e. a house of fowl, which receives its greatest honour from the bishop of London's country seat, and was anciently remarkable (as the Saxon chronicle and that of Mailros do both tell us) for an army of the Danes wintering there A. D. 879. whence they decamp'd the same year, and went into Flanders, then call'd Fronc-land, and encamp'd themselves at Gaunt, where they remain'd another year. Also, at a little distance from the river, is Kensington, which hath been of late years a place of retirement for the kings and queens; and, upon the river, Chelsey, so call'd from a bed of sands in the river Thames; adorn'd with stately buildings by Henry VIII. William Powlett marquess of Winchester, and others. Here a college was once design'd for students in divinity, and others, who were to make it their whole business to oppose the church of Rome, as appears by an act of parliament 7 Jac. I. and a declaration set forth by the same king An. 1616. specifying what mov'd the king and state to found this college, and why here rather than at either of the universities; for an account whereof, I refer the reader to Mr. Stow's Survey\*. For the furtherance of this design, the king sent his letters to the archbishop of Canterbury, to move all the bishops and whole clergy of his province, to put to their helping hands; which though actually done, and in a time of deep peace, and though eagerly solicited by Dr. Sutcliff, dean of Exeter, the first design'd provost, and Mr. Camden, who was one of the fellows of it; yet the building it self (not to mention the want of endowments) could never be further advanced, than the outward shell of a college. In which condition it stood, till the restoration of king Charles II. who quickly after erecting another royal society at London for promoting natural knowledge, gave this to them: But they never attempting any thing toward finishing or using it, conveyed it back to the same king, to build an hospital in the place of it, for the maintenance of wounded and superannuated soldiers. Which being begun by him, was carried on by his successor king James II. and fi-

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\* P. 257, &c.

nished and furnished with all sorts of necessities and conveniencies by king William and queen Mary. It is indeed a structure well suiting the munificence of its royal founders, being nobly accommodated with all sorts of offices, and adorn'd with spacious walks and gardens.

But amongst these, London (which is, as it were, the epitome of all Britain, the seat of the British empire, and the \* residence of the kings of England) is, to use the poet's comparison, as much above the rest, as the cypress is above the little sprig. Tacitus, Ptolemy, and Antoninus, call it Londinium, and Longidinium; Ammianus, Lundinum and Augusta; Stephanus in his book of cities, Lindonion; our Britains Lundayn; the Saxons, Londen-ceaster, Londenbyrig, Londenpyc; foreigners, Londra, and Londres; our own nation, London; the fabulous writers, Troja Nova, Dinas Belin, i. e. the city of Belin, and Caer Lud, from one king Luddus, whom they affirm to have given it both being and name. But as for those new-broach'd names and originals, as also Erasmus's conjecture that it came from Lindum, a city of Rhodes; I leave them to those that are inclin'd to admire them.

For my own part, since Cæsar and Strabo have told me that the ancient Britains call'd such woods or groves as they fenc'd with trees that they had cut down, cities or towns, and since I have been inform'd, that in British they call such groves Llhwn; I am almost of the opinion, that London was by way of eminence simply call'd the city, or the city in a wood. But if that do not satisfy, give me leave, without the charge of inconstancy, to guess once more, namely, that it might have its name from that which was the original both of its growth and glory; I mean ships call'd by the British Lhong; so that London is as much as a harbour or city of ships. For the Britains term a city Dinas, which the Latins turn'd into Dinum. Upon this account, it is call'd in one place Longidinium; and in a song of an ancient British bard, Lhongpoeth, i. e. a port or harbour for ships. And by the same word, Bologne in France (in Ptolemy Cestoriacum Navale,) is interpreted in the British glossary Bolung Long. For several cities have had their names from shipping, as Naupactus, Naustathmos, Naupalia, Navalía Augusti, &c. None of which can lay better claim to the name of a harbour than our London. For it is admirably accommodated from both elements; standing in a fruitful soil, abounding with every thing, and seated upon a gentle ascent, and upon the river

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\* Camera.

Thames,

Thames, which, without trouble or difficulty, brings it in the riches of the world. For by the convenience of the tide coming in at set hours, with the safety and depth of the river, which brings up the largest vessels, it daily heaps in so much wealth both from east and west, that it may at this day dispute pre-eminence with all the mart-towns in Christendom. Moreover, it is such a sure, noble, and complete station for ships, that one may term it a grove'd wood; so shaded is it with masts and sails. Another etymology is also given us of its Latin name, by the judicious Mr. Somner, who derives it from the British *Llawn*, *plenus*, *frequens*, and *dyn*, *homo*: or *din* (the same with *dinas*) *urbs*, *civitas*; either of which joined with *Llawn*, will signify a populous place, as London has always been.

Before we go further, it is to be observed, that both Ptolemy and Ravennas speak of *Londinium*, as in *Cantium*, and on the south side of the Thames; which the late learned commentator upon Antoninus solves thus; that probably a station of that name might be placed on the south side of the Thames by the Romans, for the protection and security of the conquests which they had made, before they attacked and overcame the *Trinobantes*; and the place pitched upon for it, is, that large space between Lambeth and Southwark, called St. George's fields, where have been found many Roman coins, chequer'd pavements, and bricks; and not long since an urn full of bones; where also three Roman ways center'd (out of Kent, Surrey, and Middlesex;) and nigh to which, Kenington, on one hand, is well known to have been an ancient town, belonging to the kings of England (and so, probably, before that, a Roman station, according to the custom of the Saxons, in settling where the Romans had been :) and Southwark, on the other hand, hath always been reputed a burrough, or place of strength. This then is supposed to be the *Londinium* meant by Ptolemy and Ravennas, on the south side of the river; which became neglected, after the Romans had subdued the *Trinobantes*, and driven the Britains further north, and settled themselves on the other side of the Thames. But this by the way.

Antiquity has told us nothing of the first founder of this city; as indeed cities, growing up by little and little, do seldom know their original. Notwithstanding, this among others, has fabulously deriv'd it self from the Trojans, and is persuaded that Brute, second nephew to the famous *Aeneas*, was its founder.

But whoever built it, the growth of it may evince, that it was begun with a lucky omen; and Ammianus Marcellinus has taught us to pay it a veneration upon account of its antiquity, when even in his time (which is thirteen hundred years ago) he calls it an ancient town. And agreeably Cornelius Tacitus, who flourish'd under Nero, has told us, that then it was a place exceeding famous for the number of merchants, and its trade. Even then, nothing was wanting to complete its glory, but that it was neither a free-borough, nor a colony. Nor indeed would it have been the interest of the Romans, that a city of such vast trade should enjoy the privileges of a colony, or free-borough; for which reason, I believe, they made it a præfecture; for so they call'd the towns wherein there were fairs and courts kept. Not that such places had magistrates of their own, but had præfects sent them yearly to do justice, who were to act in all publick affairs, such as taxes, tributes, imposts, the business of the army, &c. according to the instructions of the Roman senate. Upon which account it is, that London is only term'd *Opidum* (a town) by Tacitus, and by the panegyrist, and by Marcellinus. But although it had not a more honourable title, yet it has been as powerful, wealthy, and prosperous, as any; and that almost without interruption under the Roman, Saxon, and Norman governments; scarce ever falling under any remarkable calamity.

In Nero's reign, when the Britains under the conduct of Boadicea, had resolv'd to recover their ancient liberty, the Londoners could not prevail with Suetonius Paulinus either by cries or tears, but that, after he had got together the citizens to his assistance, he would march, and leave the city defenceless to the mercy of the enemy; who immediately dispatch'd those few, that either by reason of their sex, their age, or their natural inclination to the place, had stay'd behind. Nor must it have suffer'd a less dismal massacre from the Franks, had not the divine providence unexpectedly interpos'd. For when C. Allectus had treacherously cut off C. Carausius, a citizen of Menapia, who (depending upon the boisterousness of our sea, upon the difficulties of the war wherein Dioclesian was engag'd in the east, and upon the Franks, with that bold crew of his sea-allies) had kept back the revenues of Britain and Batavia, and enjoy'd the title of emperor (as we learn from several of his coins that are dug up) for six years together; when also M. Aurelius Allectodatus had cut off and defeated Allectus in a set battle, who for three years together had usurp'd the government of Britain: Then the Franks that escap'd alive out of the engagement posted to

London, and were just ready to plunder the city, when the Thames (which always stood the Londoners a true friend) brought up some Roman soldiers, who had very seasonably been parted from the main fleet by a fog. These fell upon and destroy'd the Barbarians, in all parts of the city; by which means the citizens were not only secure themselves, but had the satisfaction of seeing their enemies destroy'd. Then it was, as our annals tell us, that L. Galus was slain near a little river, which run almost through the midst of the city, and was call'd from him Nantgall in British, and in English Walbrooke. A name that still remains in a street there; under which, I have heard, there goes a ditch or sink to carry off the filth of the town. It is not far from that great stone call'd London-stone: This I take to have been a mile-stone such a one as they had in the forum at Rome) from which the dimensions of all the roads or journies were begun: since it stood in the middle of the city as it run out in length. This is confirm'd by the discovery made of the Roman way at Holborn-bridge after the fire of London, from whence it went through Watling-street directly to this London-stone.

And hitherto, I do not think that London was walled round. But our historians tell us, that a little after, Constantine the great, at the request of Helena his mother, first wall'd it about with hewn stone and British bricks, containing in compass about three miles: Whereby the city was made a square, but not equilateral; being longer from west to east, and from south to north narrower. That part of these walls which run along by the Thames is quite wash'd away by the continual beating of the river; though Fitz-Stephens (who liv'd in Henry II's time) tells us, there were some pieces of it then to be seen. The rest remains to this day, and that part toward the north, very firm; for having not many years since been repair'd by one Jorcelin, who was mayor, it put on, as it were, a new face and freshness. But that toward the east and west, though the barons repair'd it in their wars out of the demolish'd houses of the Jews, \* is all ruinous, and going to decay. For the Londoners, like the Lacedemonians of old, do slight fenced cities, as fit for nothing but women to live in, and look upon their own city to be safe, not by the assistance of stones but by the courage of its inhabitants. These walls have seven principal gates in them (for those lesser I industriously omit) which, as they

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\* So said, ann. 1607.

have been repair'd, have taken new names. To the west there are two; Ludgate, so call'd, either from king Luddas, or, as Leland thinks, from Fudgate, with reference to the small river below it (as there was the Porta Fluentana at Rome;) this was lately built from the very foundation: And Newgate, the most beautiful of them all; so nam'd from the newness of it (for before they call'd it Chamberlan-gate) which is the publick gaol. On the north side there are four; Aldersgate, so call'd, either from its antiquity, or (as others would have it) from Aldrick the Saxon: Cripplegate, from the adjoining hospital for lame people: Moregate, from a neighbouring bog or fen (now turn'd into a field and a pleasant walk :) first built by one Francerius, who was mayor, in the year 1414: Bishopsgate, from the bishop; and this (as I have been told) the German merchants of the society of the Hanse-towns, were bound by article to keep in repair, and in case of a siege, to defend it. To the east there is but one, Aldgate (from its oldness) or as others will have it call'd, Elbegate. The common opinion is, that there were two more towards the Thames, besides that at the bridge, namely, Belings-gate, now a wharf to receive ships; and Dourgate, i. e. the water-gate, call'd commonly Dow-gate.

At each end of the wall that runs along by the river, were strong forts; the one, toward the east, remains to this day, call'd commonly the tower of London, and in British, from its whiteness, Bringwin, and Tour-gwin: Which is, indeed, a stately tower, surrounded with walls of great compass, mounting up with turrets, and guarded with a rampire and broad ditches, together with the accommodation of a noble armory, and other houses; so that it self looks like a town: And a conjecture, that the two castles, which Fitz-Stephens has told us were at the east end of the city, may have been turn'd into this one, would be plausible enough. At the west end of the city was another fort, where the little river Fleet (from whence is our Fleetstreet) in the last age of small use, but formerly, as I have read in the parliament-records, navigable, and of late years made so again, empties it self into the Thames. Fitz-Stephens call'd this fort the palatine tower, and tradition affirms it to have been burnt down in William the conqueror's time: Out of the ruins whereof was built a great part of St. Paul's church; as also a monastery for Dominican friers (from whom we call the place Black-friers) founded in the very area or plot

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\* The old church.

of it, by Robert Kilwarby, archbishop of Canterbury: From whence you may easily take an estimate of its largeness. And yet in Henry II's time there were in the same place (as Gervasius Tilburienfis, in his *Otia Imperialia*, affirms) two *pergama*, or castles with walls and rampires; one whereof belong'd to Bainard, the other to the barons of Montfitchett, by inheritance. But there is nothing now to be seen of them; though some are inclin'd to think that Pembroke-house was part of them; which we call Bainard's-castle, from a nobleman, one William Bainard, Lord of Dunmow, formerly owner of it; whose successors, the Fitz-Walters, were hereditary standard-bearers of London.

Nor was London only wall'd round at that time, but also, upon the confirmation which Christianity receiv'd from that best of emperors, the Flamin was remov'd, and a bishop put in his place. For it is certain that the bishop of London was at the council of Arles, held in the year 314, under Constantine the great; since we find it said in the first tome of the councils, "Out of the province of Britain, Restitutus, bishop of the city of London;" whom (with his successors) some affirm to have had his residence at St. Peter's in Cornhill.

From that time, London flourish'd so exceedingly, that by degrees it was call'd Augusta, and had that honourable title under Valentinian the emperor. For thus says Ammianus Marcellinus, in his 27th book; "And going to London an ancient town, which posterity named Augusta." And in his 28th book; "Going from Augusta, which the ancients call'd London." Upon which account, when a mint was settled here in Constantine the great's time (for we read on those medals which he made in memory of Constantius his father, as well as on others, *P. LON. S. i. e. Pecunia Londini signata*, or money coin'd at London,) then, he who was governor here under the count of the imperial largesses, is call'd by the Notitia, provost of the treasures of the Augustenses in Britain. This Augusta was a name of the greatest honour and majesty. For the builders or restorers of cities, out of hopes or wishes at least that they might be powerful, flourishing, and great, us'd to give them auspicious names. But among all the rest, there was none so magnificent, none so auspicious, as Augusta. For that best and greatest of emperors Octavianus, took the name of Augustus, not without the judgment and advice of the most learned men of the age. "He was surnam'd Augustus (says Dio,) to imply that he was above the common reach of mankind. For those things which best deserve honour, and are most sacred, are call'd Augusta."

Nor had London this name, and this particular mark of honour, without the consent of the Roman emperors. Which custom of taking no name without particular licence, Virgil hints in that verse of his;

*Urbem appellabant, permissō nomine, Acestam.*

The city they, with leave, Acesta call'd.

But as time has destroy'd this most honourable name, so has it confirm'd that more ancient one of London. While it had that other name, it was very near being sack'd by a seditious gang of robbers; but Theodosius, father to Theodosius the emperor, falling upon them while they were laden with the spoils, routed and slew them, "and (as Marcellinus has it) "with great joy, and in a triumphant manner, "enter'd the city, which had just before been overwhelm'd with misery." Marching from thence, he so effectually freed Britain, by his great valour, from the calamities wherein it was involv'd, "that (as Symmachus tells us) "the Romans honour'd this British general "with a statue on horse-back, among their ancient heroes." Not long after, when the Roman government in Britain expir'd, this, according to the unhappy fate of the whole island, fell under the power of the Saxons; but by what methods, does not appear from history. I fancy that Vortigern, when a captive, gave it to Hengist the Saxon for his ransom; for it belong'd to the East-Saxons, and authors tell us, that Vortigern gave Hengist that country upon this account. At which time, the church suffer'd the greatest calamities; its pastors were martyr'd or banish'd, and their flocks driven away; and when all the wealth, sacred and profane, was swallow'd up in plunder and rapine, Theonus, the last bishop of London that was a Briton, "hid "the reliques of the saints (as my author says,) to preserve their memory, and not out of any superstition." But though the confusions of the Saxon age were such, that the god of war seem'd to head them in person; yet was London (as Bede tells us) a mart-town "of great "traffick and commerce both by sea and land." And afterwards, when a gentle gale of peace began to fan and revive this weary island, and the Saxons were turn'd Christian; it rose again with a new and greater lustre. For Æthelbert king of Kent (under whom Sebert was a sort of petty prince in those parts) built here a church dedicated to St. Paul; which, by improvements at several times, grew to an exceeding large and magnificent structure; and the revenues of it are so considerable,

siderable, as to maintain a bishop, dean, pracentor, chancellor, treasurer, five arch-deacons, thirty prebendaries, and others. While this ancient church was \* in building, the successive bishops despairing to finish it by private hands, were forced to apply themselves to the bounty of all good people throughout the realms both of England and Ireland, as appears by the hortatory letters of several bishops of both nations, to the clergy under their charge, for recommendation of the business to their particular congregations. By which letters, there were indulgences granted for release of penance enjoined, extending to certain numbers of days, to all such as being truly penitent, should afford their assistance toward this great work; which indulgences were not only granted to the contributors toward it, but also to the solicitors for contributions, and to the very mechanicks who labour'd in it.

By this means, it seems to have been finish'd about the year 1312, being pay'd that year with good || firm marble.

The ball above the head of the spire of this church, was so very large, that it would contain in it ten bushels of corn, and the length of the cross above the said ball, or pommel, fifteen foot, and the traverse six: In which cross, the reliques of divers saints were put by Gilbert de Segrave, then bishop of London, to the intent, that (according to the superstitions of those times) God, by the glorious merits of his saints, whose reliques were therein contained, would vouchsafe to preserve the steeple from all danger of tempests. But how ineffectual they were for that purpose, after-ages shew'd; for, within 122 years, viz. anno 1444, 22 Henry VI. the shaft, or spire, was fired by lightning, which though happily quenched by the labour of many well-disposed people, yet did so much harm, that it was not sufficiently repaired till the year 1462, (2 Ed. IV.) when a costly weathercock of copper gilt (the length whereof from head to tail was four foot, the breadth over the wings three foot and a half; of forty pounds weight) was added to it; the cross whereon it stood (which from the ball upwards was fifteen foot six inches long; and the traverse five foot ten inches) being made, within, of firm oak, and cover'd first with lead, which was plated over again with copper varnish'd red, the ball being also of copper gilt, in compass nine foot and one inch, as appear'd by measure at the taking of it down for its better repair, Anno 1553, 1 Maria.

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\* From ann. 1228.

† Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's.

|| Five-pence per foot.  
And

And thus, the spire being brought once more to perfection, it stood not much above an hundred years; but a more deplorable mischance befel it again by lightning, July 4, Anno 1561. ; Eliz. whereby the shaft, was first set on fire about three yards from the top; which being wholly consumed, it next seized the roof of the church and iies, burning down all the rafters, and whatever else was liable to it, in four hours time. The repair hereof was prosecuted with that zeal and diligence by the queen, clergy, and laity, that in Aprill 1566, all the roofs of timber were perfectly finish'd, and cover'd with lead: Only the steeple (though divers models were then made of it) was left imperfect, which continued so, notwithstanding the attempts made towards its farther reparation in the time of James I. and by archbishop Laud in the time of his son, till it was again wholly consumed just a hundred years after, in that dreadful conflagration which happen'd in the year 1666, and which we shall mention more particularly by and by. In the account of this church we have been thus distinct, because even what the fire it self left, was afterwards demolish'd to the very foundation, in order to the erecting of that noble, beautiful, and stupendous pile, now finished; the charge whereof hath been chiefly supported by an impost on sea-coal (a much better fund than that of benevolence, whereby the former church was built) The dimensions of this new church, are as follow:

	Feet.	Inch.
From the east end to the west, between the walls	463	00
From north to south in the cross ile between the walls,	228	00
From north to south in the nave, between the walls,	101	08
From the pavement to the top of the cupola,	215	00
From the pavement to the top of the cross,	344	09
From the pavement to the highest part of the arch'd roofing, in the nave and choir,	90	09

The said cupola is exceeding large, and, on the inside, is adorn'd with curious paintings; which are a representation of the life and acts of St. Paul. In the church also, is a library, well stored with valuable and curious books.

The east part of \* the old church which † seem'd to be newer, and ‡ was

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\* This, C.

† Seems, C.

‡ Is, C.

curiously

curiously wrought, having a vault and a most beautiful porch (call'd also St. Faith's church; was re-edify'd by bishop Maurice about 1086, out of the ruins of that palatine tower above-mentioned; having before that been burnt down. Of which Malmesbury writes thus: *It has such a majestick beauty, as to deserve a name among the buildings of greatest note. So wide is the vault, so capacious the body of the church, that one would think it might contain the greatest congregation imaginable. And thus Maurice, by satisfying his extravagant humour, entail'd the charge of this great work upon posterity. And afterward, when Richard his successor had allow'd the entire revenues of his bishoprick to the building of this cathedral, finding other ways to maintain himself and his family; he seem'd to have done nothing towards it: Thus did he bestow all he had upon it, and yet to little purpose.* The west part of it, as also the cross ile, \* was spacious, with lofty large pillars and a most beautiful roof of stone. Where these four parts † met, there ‖ arose a large and lofty tower, upon which stood a spire cover'd over with lead, and of a prodigious height (for from the ground it was 534 foot;) but in the year 1087 it was burnt with lightning, not without great damage to the whole city: And tho' it was built again, yet \*\* it suffer'd the same fate once more.†† I will subjoin the dimensions of this magnificent structure out of an author of pretty good antiquity, which you may read or let alone, as you please: *The length of Paul's church is ‖ 690 foot; the breadth 130 foot; the height of the western roof from the area, 102 foot; the height of the roof of a new building from the area, 88 foot; the height of the stone work belonging to the belfrey from the ground, 260 foot; the height of the wooden part belonging to the same belfrey, 274 foot, &c. (a)*

\* Is, C.  
boys, C.

† Meet, C.  
†† And is not yet re-edified, C.

‖ Arises, C.  
‖ 720, Stow, in anno 1599.

\*\* Very lately, when we were

(a) An exact measure was taken of that church about 1312. being the year wherein it was finish'd, which was written in a tablet in large characters, heretofore hung on the north part of the quire. From whence Dugdale seems to have taken the dimensions; for he differs in nothing from what was express'd in the table, but in the height of the steeple. Tho' the height of the tower from the level of the ground was 260 foot; and the height of the spire above it 274, as he says: yet the whole, viz. both of tower and spire, did not exceed 530 foot, as is testify'd by the tablet (whereof there is a MS. copy in the publick library in Cambridge;) and this is 14 foot short of the height mention'd by that author, who makes it 534 foot high, agreeable to the two dimensions of the tower and spire added together. Which must indeed have been true, had the spire risen from the summit of the battlements: Whereas I suppose it rose (as the spires of most steeples) much below them; the battlements here rising 14 foot above the base of the spire, which must occasion the difference.

Some

Some have fancied that the temple of Diana formerly stood here; and there are circumstances that strengthen their conjecture: As the old adjacent buildings being called in their records *Diana Camera*, i. e. the chamber of Diana; the digging up in the church-yard, in Edward I's reign (as we find by our annals) an incredible number of ox-heads; which the common people at that time, not without great admiration, look'd upon to have been Gentile sacrifices; and the learned know that the *Tauropolia* were celebrated in honour of Diana. And when I was a boy, I have seen a stag's head fix'd upon a spear (agreeable enough to the sacrifices of Diana) and carried about in the very church, with great solemnity and sounding of horns. And I have heard that the stag which the family of Baud in Essex were bound to pay for certain lands, was us'd to be receiv'd at the steps of the quire by the members of this church, in their sacerdotal robes, and with garlands of flowers about their heads. Whether this was a custom before the Bauds were obliged to the payment of that stag, I know not; but certain it is, this ceremony favours more of the worship of Diana and the Gentile errors, than of the Christian religion. And it is beyond all doubt, that some of these strange rites did creep into the Christian religion; which the primitive Christians either clos'd with, out of that natural inclination mankind has to superstition, or bore with them in the beginning, with design to draw over the Gentiles by little and little to the worship of the true God. But much rather should I have found such an opinion (of a temple of Diana) upon the witty conceit of Mr. Seiden; who (upon occasion of some ox heads, sacred also to Diana) that were discover'd in digging the foundations of a new chapel on the south-side of St. Paul's, would insinuate that the name of London imported no more than *Llan Dien*, i. e. *Templum Dianae*. And against the foregoing conjectures it is urged, That, as for the tenements call'd *Came a Diana*, they stood not so near the church as some would have us think, but on St. Paul's-wharf-hill near Doctors-Commons, and seem to have taken their denomination from a spacious building full of intricate turnings, wherein king Henry II. (as he did at Woodstock) kept his heart's delight; whom he there call'd Fair Rosamund, and here Diana. Of which winding vaults there remain'd some parts in Mr. Stow's time, as also of a passage under ground from Baynard's castle to it; which possibly might be the king's way to his *Camera Dianae*, or secret apartment of his beautiful mistress: And that, as to the donation of a buck annually to the dean and chapter on the feast of the commemoration of St. Paul, and the carrying the head in procession

tion before the cross; it is said to have been a plain composition betwixt the church and the family of Baud, of no older date than the third of Edward I. in lieu of twenty-two acres of land parcel of their manor of Westley, granted to Sir William Baud, to be taken into his park at Coringham in Essex. Which being an acknowledgment so naturally arising from the use and application of the grant; it is not probable that any thing more is signified by it.

But though this do not countenance the conjecture, yet ought not the opinion to be altogether rejected, since it receives confirmation from those pieces of antiquity dug up hereabouts; not only in ancient times, but also of later years. For in making the foundation of this new fabrick, among other things they cast up the teeth of boars and of other beasts, and a piece of a buck's horn, with several fragments of vessels, which by the figure one would imagine to have been used in their sacrifices. A great number of these (with an entire urn, a lamp and other things belonging to the Roman funerals, and dug up in Goodman's-fields.) came into the hands of a very knowing and ingenious Gentleman.

Ever since that ancient church was built, it has been the see of the bishops of London; and under the Saxons (fifty years after the expulsion of Theonus the Britain) the first bishop that it had was Melitus a Roman, consecrated by Augustine archbishop of Canterbury. It was an honour to this Augustine, that the archiepiscopal dignity, and the metropolitcal see, were translated from London to Canterbury, against the express order of pope Gregory.

There were bury'd in this church (to say nothing of St Erkenwald and the bishops) Sebba, king of the East-Saxons, who quitted his crown for the sake of Christ and religion; Ethelred, or Egelred (who was rather an oppressor than governor of this kingdom: The beginning of his reign was barbarous, the middle miserable, and the end shameful. He made himself inhuman, by conniving at parricide; infamous, by his cowardice and effemacy; and by his death, miserable.) Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, Simon Burley, a famous knight, J. de Beauchamp, warden of the cinqueports, J. lord Latimer, Sir John Mason, William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper, a person of great wisdom and profound judgment, Sir Philip Sidney, and Sir Francis Walsingham, most famous knights, &c. and Christopher Hatton, lord high chancellor of England, to whose sacred and lasting memory his nephew, William Hatton, of the ancient family of the Newports (but by him adopted

into the name and family of the Hattons,) dutifully erected a magnificent monument, becoming the dignity and high character of so great a person. But here we must not omit the particular mention of Robert Braybrooke, bishop of London, and some time lord high chancellor of England, who died August 27, Anno 1404. 5 Hen. IV. above two hundred and sixty years before the ruin of this church in 1666. notwithstanding which distance of time, upon pulling down the stone work, and removal of the rubbish, his body was found entire, the skin still inclosing the bones and fleshy parts; only in the breast there was a hole (made, I suppose, by accident) through which one might view and handle his lungs. The skin was of a deep tawny colour, and the body very light; as appear'd to all who came to view and touch it, it being exposed in a coffin for some time without any offensive smell; and then re-interr'd. To which Mr. Stow \* gives us a parallel history in this very city, in the corpse of Alice Hackney, wife of Robert Hackney, sheriff of London 15 Ed. II. Anno 1321. whose body, being dug up by the labourers in April, Anno 1497, (as they were working the foundations of a wall in the parish-church of St. Mary-hill) was found with her skin whole, her bones all in their natural posture, and the joints of her arms pliable; but yielding an ill smell, after it had been kept four days above ground. In which two last points, this (tho' equally entire) differ'd from the former: Whence it is very evident that they had, in ancient times, more ways than one, of preserving the dead from corruption, as well as now.

There is nothing of the Saxon work, that I know of, now remaining in London; for it was not long that they had enjoy'd a settled peace, when the West-Saxons subdu'd the East-Saxons, and London fell into the hands of the Mercians. And these civil wars were scarce ended, when presently a new northern storm broke out, namely, that Danish one which miserably harrass'd all these parts, and gave a terrible blow to this city. For the Danes got possession of it, but Ælfred retook it; and, after he had repair'd it, committed it to the government of his son-in-law Æthelred, earl of the Mercians. Notwithstanding, after this, those plunderers did often besiege it, especially Canutus, who dug a new chanel with design to divert the Thames: But they † oft times lost their labour, the citizens stoutly defending it against the assaults of the enemy. Indeed, in the year 839, in the

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\* Survey, p. 227.

† Always, C.

reign of king Ethelwolf, it was surpriz'd by the Danes, and the citizens inhumanly butcher'd. Quickly after, in the year 851, it was again sack'd by the Danes; the army of Beorhtwulf, king of Mercia, who came to its defence, being totally routed. Again, in the year 872, in the days of king Ethelred, the Danes took it, and winter'd in it. And so again, in the year 1013, after a great fight with Swane, king of Denmark, who besieged it, the citizens were at last forc'd to admit him and his army to winter in it, and to pay him such tribute as he demanded. Lastly, in the year 1016, it was twice besieged, and so much streighten'd by Canutus, that they were necessitated, in fine, to receive him into the city, and to give him winter quarters, and to buy their peace with a sum of money. Also, before the conquest, Anno 933, it was much wasted by fire, as Ranulph Higden, in his Polychronicon, tells us.

But notwithstanding they held out, under all these calamities, they were under continual apprehensions, till they joyfully receiv'd William the Norman, whom providence had design'd for the crown of England; and saluted him king. From that time, the winds ceas'd, the clouds scatter'd, and the true golden age began to shine forth. Since then, till the year 1666, it \* had not felt any signal calamity; but by the bounty of our princes it obtain'd several immunities, and began to be call'd the † chamber of the kings, and grew so in trade, that William of Malmesbury, who liv'd near that time, calls it a city, noble, wealthy, in every part adorn'd by the riches of the citizens, and frequented by merchants from all parts of the world. And Fitz-Stephens, who liv'd in that age, has told us, that then London had one hundred and twenty-two parish-churches and thirteen belonging to convents; and that upon a muster made of all that were able to bear arms, it sent to the field forty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. But ever since the conquest, it hath had mixtures of divers remarkable disasters, in several ages. For, not to mention the grievous insults made upon it of later years, by Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, in the time of Richard II. Anno 1381; by Jack Cade (otherwise call'd by his followers John Mendall) Anno 1450, in the time of Henry VI. and by the bastard Falconbridge, in 1481, in the reign of Edward IV. not (I say) to mention these insults, in the year 1077, in the days of William the conqueror, it was consumed by so great a fire, as had not happen'd to

\* Has, C.

† Camera.

it (as the Saxon chronicle expresses it) since its foundation. Quickly after, again, in the same king's reign, Anno 1086, the church of St. Paul was quite burnt down, with the greatest and most splendid part of the city. \* Again, in the year 1135, the first of king Stephen, by a fire which began in Cannon-street, near London-stone, the city was consumed from thence to the eastward, as far as Aldgate; to St. Paul's church westward; and, to the south, as far as Southwark; the bridge (then of timber) being quite burnt down. This bridge was afterwards rebuilt of stone, and houses set upon it, but within four years after it was finished (Anno 1212,) upon occasion of a fire in Southwark (whilst a multitude of people were passing the bridge, either to extinguish, or to gaze at it,) on a sudden the houses on the north end of the bridge, by a strong south wind, were set on fire. So that the people thronging betwixt two fires, could now expect no help but from the vessels in the river, which came in great numbers to their assistance; but the multitude so unadvisedly rush'd into them, that they were quickly over-set, and the people drown'd; and, betwixt fire and water, there perish'd above 3000 persons. Also, February 13, Anno 1033, a third part, at least, of the same bridge, was again burnt down.†

But the most dreadful fire that ever beset this great city, was that which happen'd within our own memory, viz. on Sunday September 2, Anno 1666, which beginning in Pudding-lane, in three days time (being driven by a fresh easterly wind) consumed no less than eighty-nine churches, the Guild-hall, hospitals, schools, and libraries, with fifteen entire wards of the twenty-six, leaving eight of the rest half burnt, and miserably shatter'd. In this compass, were four hundred streets, and in them thirteen thousand two hundred houses, which cover'd no less than four hundred thirty-six acres of ground. It destroy'd all on the Thames side, from Alhallows Barking to the Temple church, and all along from the north-east walls of the city to Holborn-bridge. And when all artificial helps fail'd, it languish'd and went out of itself, though amongst as combustible buildings as any it had burnt before. In memory whereof, near the place where the fire began, is erected a magnificent pillar (somewhat resembling, except the imagery, those of Trajan and Antonine at Rome) of two hundred and two foot high, which equals exactly the distance of the pillar from the place where the fire first began. Out of these stupendous ruins, it recover'd

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\* Stow's Survey, p. 213.

† Ibid. p. 782.

it self, and in few years rose again with surprizing beauty and magnificence, far surpassing its former condition, both in stateliness of buildings, and number of inhabitants. Inſomuch, that (as the ingenious Sir William Petty probably computed it, from the number of burials and houſes in each city,) London, in the year 1683, or thereabouts, was as big as Paris and Rouen (the two beſt cities of the French monarchy) put together; and now (above ſeven parts of fifteen having been new built ſince the great fire, and the number of inhabitants increaſed near one half, the total amounting to near ſeven hundred thouſand) it is become equal to Paris and Rome put together.

The additional buildings, which have run out a great way into the fields on every ſide, conſiſt of noble ſquares, and ſumptuous ſtreets, in great numbers; and this prodigious increaſe of inhabitants, eſpecially in the ſuburbs on the ſeveral ſides, hath render'd the out-pariſhes immoderately large: For the diviſion of which, and the erecting of ſeveral new churches and pariſhes, within the bills of mortality, ſeveral acts of parliament have been made in the reigns of queen Anne and king George.

But to return to the more ancient ſtate, and the gradual improvements of this great city. Having recover'd it ſelf by the favour of the Norman kings, it began to increaſe on every ſide with new buildings; and the ſuburbs ſtretch'd it ſelf a long way beyond the city gates, eſpecially to the weſt, where it is moſt populous, and has \* twelve ſons of court for the ſtudy of our common law. Four of them, very large and ſplendid, belong to the judicial courts, the reſt to chancery. In theſe, ſuch numbers of young gentlemen apply themſelves to the ſtudy of the law, that in this point they are no way inferior to Angiers, Caen, or Orleans; as J. Forteſcue, in his little treatiſe of the laws of England, has told us. Thoſe four principal ones I mention'd, are the Inner-temple, the Middle-temple, Gray's-inn, and Lincoln's-inn. The two firſt are in the place where formerly (in the reign of Henry II.) Heraclius, patriarch of Jeruſalem, conſecrated a church for the knights templars, which they had built after the model of the temple near our Saviour's ſepulchre at Jeruſalem. For there they liv'd in that part of the temple next the ſepulchre, and from it had their name; being under a vow to protect the Chriſtian religion, and all ſuch as came in pilgrimage to the ſepulchre of our Lord, againſt the Mahometans. By

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\* Beſides two for Serjeants.

which means, they gain'd great esteem and respect from all hands, and by the bounty of princes had large possessions and much wealth in all parts, and were in great reputation for their exemplary piety. Many noblemen were buried among them, whose images are to be seen in this temple with their legs a-cross (for so all those in that age were buried, who had devoted themselves to the service of the holy war, or, at those times worded it, had taken up the cross) Among the rest, were William, the father, William and Gilbert the sons, all marshals of England, and earls of Pembroke. But in the year of our Lord 1312, this order was condemn'd for impiety, and, by authority of the pope, utterly abolish'd. However, their revenues by act of parliament went to the knights hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem; lest what was given upon a religious design, should, contrary to the will of the donors, be converted to other uses. Notwithstanding, it appears plainly by ancient records, that after the templars were driven out, this place was the seat of Thomas earl of Lancaster, and of that Spenser who was the great favourite of king Edward II. as afterwards of Audomar de Valentia, earl of Pembroke; and at last it was turn'd into two inns for the education of lawyers. Concerning the other two, I have met with nothing upon record, only there is a tradition, that one of them was the habitation of the lords Grey, the other of the earls of Lincoln. All these inns of court have been in great measure new built, in a most stately and splendid manner, together with the ornaments of groves, walks, gardens, and all other accommodations for pleasure and retirement. And, besides these, there are two other inns, one in Fleet-street, and the other in Chancery-lane, for the reception of those lawyers who attain the degree and dignity of serjeants at law; and are therefore call'd by the name of Serjeants-inn.

To these we must add the college of civilians, commonly call'd Doctor s-commons, where the courts of civil and canon law are held, and the professors thereof do live in a community, and in a collegiate way.

Near the foremention'd inns of court, between the new and old temple, king Henry III. built a house of converts, for the maintenance of those who turn'd from Judaism to Christianity; which afterwards king Edward III. made a repository of the rolls and records, whereupon it is at this day call'd the rowles.

This suburbs ran along in a continu'd range of buildings, and the stately houses of some of the nobility upon the Thames, as far as Westminster.

minster. The most considerable of them, \* were, † St. Bride's Well, where king Henry VIII. built a palace for the reception of the emperor Charles V. but now it is a house of correction. Buckhurst-house, some time belonging to the bishops of Salisbury; the house of the Carmelites; the temples before-mentioned: Essex-house, built by the lord Paget; Arundel-house; Somerset-house, built by Seimor duke of Somerset. Next, to pass by the rest, the Savoy (so call'd from Peter earl of Savoy, who liv'd in it,) which Eleanor, wife of Henry II. bought of the fraternity of Montjoy, and gave to her son Edmund, earl of Lancaster, whose posterity for a long time had it for a seat, till Henry VII. made it an hospital. Durham-house, built by Anthony Bec, bishop of Durham, and patriarch of Jerusalem. York-house (for so it || was call'd,) formerly Bath-house. Besides these (which were the most remarkable) there were between Temple-bar and Westminster many other houses, as well of the spiritual, as temporal nobility. For the bishops of Exeter, Bath and Wells, Salisbury, Litchfield and Coventry, Worcester, Norwich, Landaff, and Carlisle, had all anciently houses here: And so had the dukes of Buckingham, and Beauford; and the earls of Exeter, Worcester, Bedford, Salisbury, and Rivers. But why do I give particular names to these, which belong not to any one, but as fortune disposes of them? Especially, since all of them, except Somerset and Northumberland-house, are now pull'd down, and the sites and gardens converted into streets.

Westminster, formerly above a mile distant from London, is now by these suburbs join'd so close to it, that it seems to be part of it; notwithstanding, it is a distinct city of it self, and enjoys its own magistrates and privileges. Once it was call'd Thorney, from the thorns; now Westminster, from its westerly situation and the minster. For it is particularly eminent for the abbey, and for its hall of justice, and for the king's palace. The church's greatest honour is deriv'd from the inauguration, and burial of our kings, in it. Sulcardus affirms, that there once stood in that place a temple of Apollo, and that it was thrown down by an earthquake in the time of Antoninus Pius: out of the ruins whereof, Sebert, king of the East-Saxons, built another to St. Peter; which being destroy'd by the Danes, was re-edified and granted to a few monks, by bishop Dunstan. But af-

\* Are, C.

† Bride-well,

|| Hath been call'd of late, C. terwards

afterwards, king Edward the confessor built it a-new out of the tenth penny of all his revenues, for a burying-place to himself, and a monastery to the Benedictine monks; endowing it with lands, dispers'd here and there, throughout England. But hear a contemporary historian: *The devout and pious king has dedicated that place to God, both for its neighbourhood to the famous and wealthy city, and for its pleasant situation among fruitful grounds and green fields, and for the nearness of the principal river of England, which from all parts of the world conveys whatever is necessary to the adjoining city. But above all, for the love he bore to the prince of the apostles whom he always reverenc'd with a singular zeal and veneration, did he make choice of that for the place of his sepulchre.* Then he order'd a noble structure to be begun and built one of the tenths of his whole revenue, such a one as might become the prince of the apostles; that, after the transitory course of this life, he might find a propitious God, both upon account of his piety, and of his free-offering of those lands and ornaments with which he designs to endow it. Whereupon the work thus nobly begun at the king's command, is successfully carried on, without sparing either present or future charges; so it may be made worthy of, and acceptable to, God and the blessed St. Peter. He pleas'd also to take the form and figure of this ancient building out of an old manuscript: *The chief ile of the church is roof'd with lofty arches of square work, the joints answering one another; but on both sides it is enclos'd with a double arch of stones firmly cemented and knit together. Moreover, the cross of the church (made to encompass the middle quire of the pingers, and by its double supporter on each side to bear up the lofty top of the middle tower) first rises singly with a low and strong arch, then mounts higher with several winding stairs artificially contriv'd, and last of all with a single wall reaches to the wooden roof, which is well cover'd with lead.* But one hundred and sixty years after, king Henry III. pulled down this fabrick of Edward's, and erected a new one of curious workmanship, supported by several rows of marble pillars, and leaded over; which was fifty years in building. This the abbots very much enlarg'd on the west-side; and Henry VII. for the burial of himself and his children, added to the east part of it a chapel of most neat and admirable contrivance (call'd by Leland the miracle of the world; for all the art in the world seems to be crowded into this one work). It is erected in the place of the chapel of our lady (built before, with the church, by king Henry III.) and of a tavern near adjoining; both which being pull'd down, he laid the foundation of this January 21. 1502. fetching most of the stone from Huddleston quarry in Yorkshire. The whole charge of it amounted to

no less than fourteen thousand pounds Sterling. In this is to be seen his own most splendid and magnificent monument, of solid brass, richly gilt; made and finish'd Anno 1519, by one Peter, a painter of Florence, for which he had paid him (for materials and workmanship) a thousand pounds Sterling by the king's executors.\*

From the expulsion of the monks, it has had several sorts of constitutions: First, it had a dean and prebendaries; next, one single bishop, Thomas Thurbey, who, after he had squander'd away the revenues of the church, gave it up, and left it to the dean. Presently after, the monks and their abbot were restor'd by queen Mary; but they being quickly ejected by authority of parliament, queen Elizabeth converted it into a collegiate church, nay, I may say a nursery of the church. For she settled twelve prebendaries, and as many old soldiers past service, and forty scholars (called king's scholars) who are sent successively to the universities, and thence transplanted into church and state, &c. Over all these, she constituted a dean; which dignity was † lately possess'd and supported with great honour by Dr. Gabriel Goodman, a person of singular worth and integrity, and a particular patron both to me and my studies. The school, as it is famous for the great service it has done both to church and state; so it is more particularly memorable in this work, for the relation which Mr. Camden had once to it as master; and also for Dr. Busbey, its late master, whose worth and learning for many years did greatly support its reputation. To the latter of these it is beholden for its museum, and for several improvements both in beauty and convenience: As is the master's house (wherein he had all along liv'd) for its enlargement. The same person built his prebend's house there a-new, pay'd the quire of Westminster-abbey with white and black marble-stone, and added a building to the king's hospital of Green-coats in Turtill-fields. In Buckinghamshire he rais'd from the ground the church of Willen, where his estate lies; at Wells he built a library; he also repaired the church of Lutton; and at his death, among other benefactions, he left a perpetual fund, to be employed in the annual augmentation of the income of a certain number of poor clergy; who, in consideration thereof, are oblig'd to read catechetical lectures in their respective parishes, according to the direction given in the will of this their pious and charitable benefactor.

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\* Stow's Survey, p. 499.

† So said, ann. 1607.

There were buried in this church (to run over those likewise in order, and according to their dignity, and the time when they died) Sebert, the first king of the East-ang es; Harold (bastard son of Canutus the Dane) king of England; St. Edward, king and confessor, with his queen Editha; Maud, wife to king Henry I. and daughter to Malcolm king of Scots; Henry III. Edward I. his son, with Eleanor his wife, daughter to Ferdinand III. king of Castile and Leon; king Edward III. and Philippa of Hanault, his wife; Richard II. and Anne, his wife, sister of the emperor Wenzelaus; Henry V. with his wife Catharine, daughter of Charles VI. king of France; Anne, wife of Richard III. and daughter of Richard Nevil, earl of Warwick; Henry VII. with his wife Elizabeth, and his mother Margaret, countess of Richmond; king Edward VI. Anne of Cleve, fourth wife to king Henry VIII. queen Mary; and another, not to be mention'd without the highest expressions both of respect and sorrow; I mean our \* late most serene lady queen Elizabeth, of blessed memory, the darling of England; a princess endow'd with heroick virtues, wisdom, and a greatness of soul, much beyond her sex, and incomparably skill'd both in affairs of state, and in languages. Here she lies buried in a stately monument, which king James I. piously erected for her. But, alas! how inconsiderable is that monument, in comparison of the noble qualities of so heroical a lady! She herself is her own monument, and a more magnificent and sumptuous one than any other. For let those noble actions recommend her to the praise and admiration of posterity; RELIGION REFORM'D, PEACE ESTABLISH'D, MONEY REDUC'D TO ITS TRUE VALUE, A MOST COMPLEAT FLEET BUILT, OUR NAVAL GLORY RESTOR'D, REBELLION SUPPRESS'D, ENGLAND FOR XLIII YEARS TOGETHER MOST PRUDENTLY GOVERN'D, ENRICH'D, AND STRENGTHEN'D, SCOTLAND RESCUED FROM THE FRENCH, FRANCE ITSELF RELIEV'D, THE NETHERLANDS SUPPORTED, SPAIN AID, IRELAND QUIETED, AND THE WHOLE WORLD TWICE SAIL'D ROUND.

The dukes and lords that have been buried here, are Edmund earl of Lancaster, younger son to king Henry III. Avelina de Fortibus, countess of Albemarle, his wife; William and Audomar de Valentia, of the family of Lutignia, earls of Pembroke; Alphonse, John, and

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\* So said, ann. 1607.

other children of king Edward I. John de E'tham, earl of Cornwall, son of king Edward II. Thomas de Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III. with others of his children; Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, first wife to Thomas de Woodstock; the young daughter of Henry VI. and Henry VII. Henry, young son of Henry VIII. who died two months old; Sophia, daughter of king James I. who died as soon as born; Philippa, dutchess of York; Lewis, viscount of Hanault, in right of his wife; lord Bouchier; Anne, the young daughter and heir of John Moubray, duke of Norfolk, first wife of Richard, duke of York, younger son to king Edward IV. of England; beney, lord chamberlain to king Henry VII. and his wife of the family of the Arundels in Cornwall; viscount Welles; Frances Borden dutchess of Suffolk; Mary her daughter; Margaret Douglas, countess of Lenox, grandmother to James I. king of Great Britain with Charles her son; Winetrid Bruges, marchioness of Winchester; Anne Sadler, dutchess of Somerset, and Jane her daughter; Anne Cecil, countess of Oxford, daughter of baron Burghley, lord treasurer of England, with her mother Mildred Burghley; Elizabeth Berkeley, countess of Ormond; Frances Sidney, countess of Suffex; Thomas Luttrell, viscount Thurles, son and heir of the earl of Ormond.

Besides, Humphrey Bouchier, lord Cromwell; another Humphrey Bouchier, son and heir of the lord Lerner; both slain in the battle of Barnet; Nicholas, baron Cawew; the baroness of Powis; Thomas, baron Wentworth; Thomas, baron Wharton; John, lord Russell; Thomas Bromley, lord chancellor of England; Douglass Howard, daughter and heir of viscount Bindon, wife of Arthur Gore; Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Edward earl of Rutland, wife of William Cecil; John Puckering, keeper of the great seal of England; Frances Howard, countess of Hertford; Henry and George Cary, father and son, barons of Hunsdon, and lord chamberlains to queen Elizabeth; the heart of Anna Sophia (the young daughter of Christopher Harley, count de Beaumont, embassador in England from the French king) put in a golden little urn upon a pyramid; Charles, earl of Devonshire, lord deputy of Ireland.

Here Geoffrey Chaucer, prince of the English poets, ought not to be pass'd by; as neither Edmund Spencer, who of all the English poets came nearest him in a happy genius, and a noble vein of poetry; nor the famous Ben Johnson, and the ingenious Mr. Cowley (to whom I wish we could have added Mr. Butler) who equal, if not exceed,

the

of their predecessors. To these we must add two other excellent poets, Sir John Denham, and Mr. Dryden: and a third, viz. Milton, not inferior to any of the rest, in liveliness of fancy, and exactness of judgment; besides his many excellent performances in prose, which are composed with the greatest accuracy, and are full of useful thoughts, and (what is the highest commendation of all) are uniformly directed to the great and noble ends of religion, humanity, and the liberties of his country.

Besides these, there are also several others buried here, of the clergy, and gentlemen of quality.

St. Dunstons, was another college of twelve canons, dedicated to St. Stephen: which king Edward III. raised to such royal magnificence, and endow'd with such large possessions after he had carried his victories through France, that he seems rather to have been founder, than re-builder. "devoutly considering (as the foundation charter has it) the great benefits of Christ, whereby, out of his rich mercy, we have been prevented upon all occasions, and delivering us, although unworthy of it, from divers perils; and by the right hand of his power mightily defending us, and giving us the victory in all assaults of our enemies: As also, comforting us with unexpected relief in the other tribulations and difficulties we have labour'd under." Near this, was a palace, the ancient habitation of the kings of England from the time of St. Edward the confessor; which in the reign of king Henry VIII. was burnt down by a casual fire. This palace was very large and magnificent, "a building not to be equalld in that age; having also a wawmure, and bulwarks." For the remains of this, are, the chamber wherein the king, the nobility, and great ministers of state, meet in parliament; and that next to it, wherein our ancestors used to open their parliaments, call'd the painted chamber of St. Edward.

How bloody, heinous, and horrible, how odious to God and man that design was, whereby certain brutes, in the shape of men, under that arch-traitor Francis Catesby, did (by undermining, and placing a vast quantity of gunpowder in the vaults of those buildings) contrive the destruction of their prince, country, and the estates of the realm, out of a specious colour and pretence of religion; my very heart shakes to consider: And I cannot reflect, without the greatest horror

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\* Antemurale.

† Camera.

and astonishment, in what an irrecoverable darkness and lamentable ruin, this most flourishing kingdom had been involv'd in a moment, if that design had succeeded. But what an ancient poet said in a matter of less concern, we may, mournfully, apply to our case.

*Excidat illa dies ævo, ne postera credant  
Secula, nos certe taceamus, & obruta multa  
Nocte tegi propriæ patiamur crimina gentis.*

May that black day 'scape the record of fate,  
And after-ages never know't has been,  
Or us, at least, let us the time forget,  
And hide in endless night our guilty nation's sin.

Adjoining to these is the Cottonian library, consisting of many hundred volumes of curious manuscripts, chiefly relating to the history and antiquities of this nation; which were collected, at great charge, by Sir Robert Cotton, and much increased by his son, and grand son, the last of whom, viz. Sir John Cotton, established the said most valuable library for ever, for the use of the publick, according to an act of parliament specially made for that purpose.

Near these is the White-hall, wherein \* was held the court of requests; below which, is a hall larger than any of the rest, the Prætorium, and hall of justice, for all England. In this the courts of justice are held namely, King's-bench, Common-pleas, and Chancery, and in places round it, the Star-chamber, and Court of wards, while in being, the Exchequer, the Court of the dutchy of Lancaster, &c. In these are heard causes, at the set seasons or terms of the year, whereas before the reign of Henry III. the general court of justice was fix'd, and follow'd the king's court. But he, in his Magna charta, made a law in these words; *The Common-pleas shall not follow our court, but be held in some one certain place.* Tho' there are some who understand by this, only that the Common-pleas should from that time forward be held in a distinct court, and not in the King's-bench, as formerly. The † hall which we now see was built by king Richard II. (as we may learn from his arms in the stone-work, and the ‖ beams;) when he pull'd down that more ancient hall built in the place by William Rufus,

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\* Is, C.

† Prætorium.

‖ Lacunaribus.

about the year of Christ 1097; wherein, as Matthew Paris tells us, upon his return out of Normandy, Anno 1099, he most royally kept the feast of Whitsuntide. The length of it was two hundred and seventy foot, and the breadth seventy-four; of which when he heard some say that it was too great, he answer'd, That it was not big enough by one half, and was but a bed-chamber, in comparison of what he intended to make. The foundations (as we are told) were to be seen in the days of Matthew Paris, stretching themselves from the river to the common high-way; whence we may gather, that it was intended to have pointed in length east and west, and not north and south, as it now does. The new hall, Richard II. made his own habitation; for when the kings us'd to hear causes themselves, as being the *Dicasspoli* or judges; *whose mouth* (as the royal pen-man speaks,) *shall not err in judgment.* But this palace, being burnt down in the year 1512, lay desolate; and a little after, king Henry VIII. remov'd the royal seat to a neighbouring house, which had been cardinal Wolsey's, and which is now call'd White-hall. This \* was a truly royal palace, enclos'd on one side with a park, which reaches to another house of the king's, built by king Henry VIII. and call'd St. James's; and, on the other side, with the Thames. A certain poet, from its whiteness, has term'd Leucæum.

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*Regale subintrant*

*Leucæum Reges (dederant memorabile quondam  
 Arria, quæ niveo candebant marmore, nomen)  
 Quod Tamisis prima est cui gloria pascere cygnos  
 Ledaeos, rauco pronus subterluit æstu.*

To the Leucæum now the princes came,  
 Which to its own white marble owes its name.  
 Here Thames, whose silver swans are all his pride,  
 Runs roaring by, with an impetuous tide.

But this palace (all, except the Banqueting-house, a most stately and elegant fabrick) having been burnt down, and still remaining in ashes, the royal residence is now at St. James's, the neighbouring palace aforesaid, which is render'd exceeding pleasant by the park, commonly

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\* Is, C.

call'd,

call'd, from it, St. James's park; and round which, are large and shady walks, with many fair and beautiful buildings.

Hard by White-hall, near the Mews (so call'd because it was formerly a place for keeping of hawks, but is now \* a beautiful stable for the king's horses;) there † stood a monument which king Edward I. erected in memory of queen Eleanor, the dearest husband to the most loving wife, whose tender affection will stand upon record, and be an example to all posterity. She was daughter of Ferdinand III. king of Castile and married to Edward I. king of England, with whom she went into the holy land. When her husband was treacherously wound'd by Moor with a poison'd sword, and rather grew worse than receiv'd ease by what the physicians applied, she found out a remedy, a new and unheard of, as full of love and endearment. For by reason of the malignity of the poyson, her husband's wounds could not possibly be clos'd: But she lick'd them daily with her own tongue, and suck'd out the venomous humour; to her a most delicious liquer. By the use whereof, or rather by the virtue of the tenderness of a wife, she drew out the poisonous matter, that he was entirely cur'd of his wound and she escap'd without catching any harm. What then can be more rare than this lady's expressions of love? Or what can be more admirable? The tongue of a wife, anointed (if I may so say) with duty and love to her husband, draws from her beloved those poisons which could not be drawn out by the most approv'd physician: and what many and most exquisite medicines could not do, is effected much by the love of a wife. At present, Charing-cross is adorn'd with an elegant statue of king Charles I. on horseback.

Near the Mews aforesaid, is a publick school, well endow'd: and over it, a publick library, which is furnished with a great variety of excellent books. Both these were erected, in the reign of king James II. by the reverend Dr. Thomas Tenison; at that time, and for some years before, the pious and indefatigable pastor of this parish of St. Martin in the fields. And it deserves to be particularly noted in this place that the said school was erected by him about the same time that a popish school was open'd in the Savoy for the promoting of Popery of which he had ever been, and continued to his dying day, a strenuous opposer, and a zealous asserter of the Protestant cause: and more especially, in that critical and dangerous juncture. On account

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\* Ann. 1607.

† Stands, C.

of which merit, together with great learning and exemplary piety: as soon as that storm was blown over by our happy revolution, he was most deservedly advanced to the bishoprick of Lincoln, and, within a few years, to the metropolitan see of Canterbury: which he administered, for twenty years and upwards, with the greatest wisdom, temper, and stability. During his life, besides these and other remarkable charities, he erected and endowed two charity-schools at his two archiepiscopal seats, viz. one at Lambeth, and the other at Croydon: and at his death, among a variety of other bequests and benefactions, he left one thousand pounds, towards the erecting of sees for two Protestant bishops in the West-Indies.

And thus much of Westminster; which (tho', as I observ'd, a city of itself, and of distinct jurisdiction) I have describ'd along with London, because it is so join'd to it by continu'd buildings, that it seems to be but one and the same city.

On the west side of the city, the suburbs runs out in another row of \* beautiful buildings, namely, Holborn, or rather Oldburn; wherein are some inns for the study of the common law, and a house of the bishops of Ely, † becoming the state of a bishop: which they owe to John Hotham, bishop of that see under Edward III. The suburbs has grown likewise on the north side, where Jordan Briet, a pious and wealthy man, built a house for the knights hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, which was afterwards improv'd into the state of a palace, and had a very beautiful church with a high tower so elegantly rais'd, that, while it stood, it was a singular ornament to the city. At their first institution, they were so humble, while poor, that their governor was call'd Servant to the poor servants of the hospital at Jerusalem; as was that of the templars, who arose a little after, The humble minister of the poor knights of the temple. But what by their piety, and their bravery in war, their condition came to be so much alter'd from this mean and humble state, by the bounty of good princes and private persons, that they even abounded in wealth. For about the year 1240, they had nineteen thousand lordships or manors, in Christendom; as the templars had nine thousand (whose revenues here in England came also afterwards to the hospitallers). And this vast increase of revenues was such an effectual passage to honours, that their prior was reckon'd the first baron of England, and liv'd in great

\* Ann 1607.

† Ibid.

state and plenty, till king Henry VIII. by the instigation of evil counsellors, seisd their lands, as he did also those belonging to the monasteries; which were piously dedicated to the glory of God, and, by the canons of the church, were to be expended in the maintenance of priests, relief of the poor, redemption of captives, and the repair of churches. Near this place, where is now a stately circuit of houses, was formerly a rich house of the Carthusians, built by Walter Manny or Hanault, who got himself great honour, by his service in the French war under Edward III. And before that time, there was a very famous church-yard, which in the plague of London in the year 1349, had above fifty thousand persons buried in it; as appear'd by an inscription in brass, for the information of posterity.

The suburbs also, which runs out on the north-west side of London, is large, and was formerly a watch-tower or military fence, from whence it was call'd, by an Arabick name, Barbican. By the gift of Edward III. it became a seat of the Uffords; from whom by the Willoughbies it descended to Peregrine Bertie, lord Willoughby, of Eresby, a person of a most generous temper, and truly martial courage. Nor is the suburbs that shoots forth towards the north-east, and east, less considerable; in the fields whereof (call'd Spittle-fields, and dug for making of bricks,) were found in the \* last age many sepulchral vessels, seals, and urns, with coins in them of Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, &c. glass vials also, and small earthen vessels, wherein was a sort of liquid substance, which I should imagine to be either an oblation of wine and milk (us'd by the Romans at the burning of their dead,) or of those odoriferous liquors mention'd by Statius,

———*Phariique liquores*  
*Arsurum lavere comam.*

And precious odours sprinkled on his hair,  
Prepar'd it for the flames.

This was a place set apart by the Romans for burning and burying their dead; they being oblig'd by the twelve tables to carry them without the cities, and to bury them by the military highways. Divers other Roman coins and vessels were found (as Mr. Stow tells us) be-

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\* So said, ann. 1607.

longing to their sacrifices and burials, besides those abovemention'd: Such as the coins of Trajan and Antoninus Pius, lamps, lachrymatories, patinæ, and vessels of white earth with long necks and handles, which, we may suppose, were the gatti used in their sacrifices\*. There were many Roman coins also discover'd in the foundations of Aldgate, when it was rebuilt in the year 1607, which were formerly kept in the Guild-hall†: But many more of all kinds since the late fire, have been found in the foundations of St. Paul's church, and in the making of Fleet-ditch; which were carefully collected by Mr. John Coniers, citizen and apothecary of London, and are now, many of them, in the possession of the ingenious Dr. Woodward, the present professor of physick in Gresham-college, in London. Many urns and coins have been also met with in digging the foundations of the new buildings in Goodmans-fields; as there still are, in many other places, upon the like occasion; especially in the suburbs of the city. And thus much of the land side of the city.

But to the river, that large borough of Southwark beforemention'd, on the south side of the Thames, is join'd to the city by a bridge; first, built on wooden piles, where formerly, instead of a bridge, they pass'd the river in a ferry. Afterwards, in the reign of king John, they built a new one, of free-stone and admirable workmanship, with nineteen arches, besides that which makes the draw-bridge; and did so continue it all along with lines of handsome buildings like a street, that it may claim pre-eminence over all the bridges in Europe, whether in largeness, or beaury.

In this borough of Southwark, the things that have been remarkable, are, a noble abbey for monks of the Benedictine order, call'd Bermondsey, dedicated to our Saviour by Aldwin Child, citizen of London; and a stately house built by Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, which was pull'd-down again, after it had been for a very little time the delight of its master. There still remains the hospital of St. Thomas, repair'd, or rather founded, by the city of London, for the lame and infirm; and the church of the priory of St. Mary (which, because it is seated over or beyond the Thames, with respect to the city of London, is call'd St. Mary Over-rhe; founded for canons by William Ponte del Arche a Norman: As also the house of the bishops of Winchester, built by William Gifford, bishop, about the year

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\* Survey, p. 499.

† Ibid. p. 121.

1107, for the use of his successors; and now turn'd into private houses. From this, along the Thames-side, there runs westward a continued line of houses, in which compass, within the memory \* of our fathers, there were publick stews, call'd by the Latins Lupanaria, (wherein women prostituted and set to sale their modesty,) because they, like rapacious she-wolves, hale miserable silly people into their dens. But these were suppress'd by king Henry VIII. at a time when England was at the height of lust and luxury; though in foreign nations they are still continu'd for gain, under the specious pretence of making provision for human frailty. But I do not believe that they call'd this place the stews, from these bawdy-houses, but from the fish-ponds here, for the fattening of pikes and tench, and taking off their muddy fennish taste. Here I have seen the bellies of pikes open'd with a knife, to shew their fatness, and the gaping wounds presently clos'd by the touch of tenches, and, by their glutinous slime, perfectly heal'd up. Among these buildings, † was a place for bull-baiting and bear-baiting, with certain several kennels of band-dogs, which ‖ were so strong, and \*\* bit so close, that three of them †† were able to manage a bear, and four a lion. So that, what the poet said formerly of our dogs, that they could break the necks of bulls, is very true; as is also, what another observ'd, that they are more fierce and eager than those Arcadian ones suppos'd to be engender'd of lions.

At what time this borough was join'd to London by a bridge, the city was not only enlarg'd, but also modell'd into an excellent form of government; the citizens being distributed into bodies or colleges. The city it self was divided into twenty-six wards, and the management of all publick concerns put into the hands of as many ancient men (call'd in our language, from their age, Aldermen; in Latin, Senatores,) each of whom had the government of one ward. And whereas formerly they had for their chief magistrate a port-reve, i. e. a governor of the city, Richard I. instituted two bailiffs; instead of which king John granted them the privilege of chusing a mayor yearly out of their twelve principal companies, and of nominating two sheriffs, the one call'd the king's, and the other the city sheriff.

After this new form of government was establish'd, it is incredible how it grew in publick and private buildings, and is still growing (while the rest of the cities in England are rather decaying) For, to pass

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\* So said, ann. 1607.

† Is, C.

‖ Are, C.

\*\* Bite, C.

†† Are, C.

the senate-house, call'd Guild-hall, the great court of judicature for the city, built with exquisite beauty by Thomas Knowles, mayor; and Leaden-hall, a large and curious piece of work, built by Simon Eire, for a common garner against times of dearth: That circuit of pillars also (or the middle Janus,) which the common people call the Curfe, but queen Elizabeth nam'd the Royal Exchange, built by Sir Thomas Gresham, Knt. for the use of merchants, and the ornament of the city: (A magnificent building it is, whether you consider the structure it self, or the resort of merchants from all nations, or the variety of commodities :) And the same person, being a great admirer of learning, consecrated a spacious house that he had in the city, to the improvement thereof; and settled plentiful salaries upon six professors, of divinity, law, physick, astronomy, geometry, and musick; that London might not only be, as it were, a mart of all kinds of wares, but a treasury also of arts and sciences. From whence great advantage hath likewise accrued to natural knowledge antiquities, &c. since the erection of the Royal Society; together with a publick repository of all the rarities of art and nature: To pass by the three other publick colleges; namely, Sion-college, for the use of the corporation of London ministers; and the colleges of Physicians, and Chirurgeons, for the use and improvement of the respective sciences, and the professors of them; all furnish'd with their severall libraries for the several ends. The halls also of the severall companies or fraternities; which are like the houses of noblemen, having stately courts, and spacious rooms. To pass by also the house of the Hanse-company, the conveyance of water into all parts of the city by pipes under ground, and the neat little castles for the reception of it; together with the new aqueduct, contriv'd \* in the last age by Peter Maurice, a German, of great ingenuity and industry; which, by the help of a wheel with the pipes plac'd at a certain depth, brings water out of the Thames to a great part of the city: Besides these, I say, it is in all parts so adorned with churches, and other religious places, that one would think religion and piety had made choice of it for their residence. It has in it † one hundred twenty-one churches (a greater number in Rome her self can show,) besides hospitals of several kinds; that St. Bartholemew, and St. Thomas in Southwark, for the cure of the

\* Ditch, C. † Now, in city and suburbs, 113 besides those in Westminster; and additional new ones, built, and in building.

sick, lame, and infirm; and Bethlem, for the cure of persons who are lunatick and distracted: All which are accommodated with able physicians, surgeons nurles, and with ample conveniencies of every kind for the effecting of the several cures. Particularly, in that nursery of young boys, call'd Christ-church, this city maintains about \* one thousand orphans, and twelve hundred and forty poor people that live upon alms, &c. This hospital of Christ-church was founded Anno 1552, by king Edward VI. and, in this last age (the fund being uncertain, and depending as well upon the casual charity both of living and dying persons, as upon its real estate) the number has been augmented and diminish'd in proportion to the increase and decrease of that sort of charity. However, it seldom now maintains less than one thousand annually, nor is there reason to fear they will ever have fewer. Here having run through the several schools, at fifteen years they are put forth to a seven-year's apprenticeship; except some boys of the best parts, who are sent to the universities, and there also are maintained for seven years: Which is the present state of king Edward's foundation.

To this there has been added another of late years, stiled the new royal foundation of king Charles II. consisting of forty boys, all wearing badges appropriate to their institution; to be fill'd up successively out of such of the abovemention'd children, as have attain'd to a competency in fair writing and Latin learning. Thence forward they are instructed in the mathematicks and art of navigation, till they are sixteen years of age; at which time they are dispos'd of in a seven-year's apprenticeship to the practice of navigation. Which institution most highly charitable in it self, and tending to the honour and safety of the kingdom, as well as the security and advancement of our trade was founded the 19th of August, Anno 25 Car. II.

It would be too tedious to enlarge particularly upon the excellency of the laws and constitutions of this city; the dignity of its governors the aldermen, its loyalty and obedience to princes, the humanity of the citizens, the splendor of its buildings, the many choice and excellent wits it produces, the pleasure of its gardens in the suburbs admirably stock'd with foreign plants; its numerous and well-appointed fleet; that incredible treasure of all sorts of commodities (particularly its † furnishing Antwerp yearly with two hundred thousand woollen

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\* 800, C.

† This said, Anno 1607.

cloaths, besides what it sends to other places;) and the great abundance of the necessities and conveniencies of human life. So that what H. Junius says in his Philippeis, is very true:

———— *Tectis opibusque refertum*  
*Londinum, & si fas, numerofo cive superbum,*  
*Larga ubi facundo rerum undat copia cornu.*

London, where circling riches still return,  
 Where num'rous tribes the stately piles adorn,  
 And willing plenty shakes her fruitful horn.

}

And J. Scaliger, in his book of cities:

*Urbs animis numeroque potens, & robore gentis.*

For number, strength, and courage, of her men  
 Great London's fam'd. ———

Another also has these verses concerning London, if you please to read them:

*Londinum gemino procurrit littore longe*  
*Æmula maternæ tollens sua lumina Trojæ,*  
*Clementer surgente jugo dum tendit in ortum.*  
*Urbs peramœna situ, caloque soloque beata.*  
*Urbs pietate potens, numerofo cive superba,*  
*Urbsque Britannorum quæ digna Britannia dici.*  
*Hæc nova doctrinis Lutetia, mercibus Ormus,*  
*Altera Roma viris, Cryſæa ſecunda metallis.*

Stretch'd on a riſing hill betwixt the ſtrands,  
 London, her mother Troy's great rival ſtands.  
 Where heav'n and earth their choicest gifts beſtow,  
 And tides of men the ſpacious ſtreets o'erflow.  
 London! the mighty image of our iſle,  
 That we Great Brirain of it ſelf may ſtile.  
 Where Chryſe, Paris, Rome, and Ormus yield,  
 In metals, learning, people, wealth excell'd.

Henry

Henry of Huntingdon also, in the time of king Stephen, writes thus in commendation of London :

*Ibis & in nostros dives Londonia versus,  
Quæ nos immemores non finis esse tui.  
Quando tuas arces, tua mænia mente retracto,  
Qua vidi, videor cuncta videre mihi.  
Fama loquax & nata loqui, meritura silendo,  
Lacibus erubuit fingere falsa tuis.*

And thou, rich London, shalt my verse adorn,  
Thou in my joyful mind art ever born.  
When e'er thy lofty tow'rs, thy stately wall,  
And all thy glories my glad thoughts recal,  
My ravish'd soul still swells with full delight,  
And still my absent eyes admire the grateful sight.  
Fame, that's all tongue, and wou'd, if silent, die,  
Of thee her greatest theme nor dares nor needs to lie.

And another in a poetical vein penn'd this :

*Hæc Urbs illa potens, cui tres tria dona ministrant  
Bacchus, Apollo, Ceres, pocula, carmen, ador.  
Hæc Urbs illa potens, quam Juno, Minerva, Diana  
Mercibus, arce, feris, ditat, adornat, alit.*

A place where Ceres, Phæbus, Bacchus join  
Their three great gifts, corn, poetry, and wine.  
Which Pallas, Juno, and chaste hunting maid,  
With buildings, goods, and beasts, adorn, enrich, and feed.

But my friend, the famous John Jonston of Aberdeen, professor of divinity in the royal university of St. Andrew's, has manag'd the subject more soberly :

*Urbs Augusta, cui cælumque, solumque, salumque,  
Cuique favent cunctis cuncta elementa bonis.  
Mitius haud usquam cælum est, uberrima Tellus  
Fundit inexhausti germina læta soli.  
Et pater Oceanus Tamijsino gurgite mistus,  
Convocat immensas totius orbis opes.*

*Regali cultu sedes clarissima Regum,  
Gentis præsidium, cor, anima, atque oculus.  
Gens antiqua, potens virtute & robore belli,  
Artium & omnigenum nobilitata opibus.  
Singula contemplare animo, attentusque tuere,  
Aut Orbem aut Orbis dixeris esse caput.*

Renown'd Augusta, that sea, earth, and sky,  
And all the various elements supply :  
No peaceful climate breathes a softer air,  
No fertile grounds with happier plenty bear.  
Old Ocean, with great Thames his eldest son,  
Makes all the riches of the world her own.  
The ever famous seat of Britain's prince,  
The nation's eye, heart, spirit, and defence.  
The men for ancient valour ever known,  
No arts and riches gain them less renown.  
In short, when all her glories are survey'd,  
It must with wonder still at last be said,  
She makes a world her self, or is the world's great head.

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But these matters, with others of the same kind, are handled more at large, and with greater accuracy, by John Stow, a citizen of London, and a famous chorographer, in his Survey of London \* lately publish'd. And so I will take leave of my dear native place, after I have observ'd, that the latitude of it is 51 degrees, † 34 minutes: and the longitude 23 degrees, and 25 minutes. || Fidicula, of the nature of Venus and Mercury, is the tropick star, which glances upon the horizon, but never sets; and the dragon's head is look'd upon by astrologers as the vertical.

The Thames leaving London, waters Redcliff, a neat little town, inhabited by sea-men, and so call'd from the red cliff. In the fields adjoining to this place, were found two coffins, one of stone, another of lead, in which was the body of a woman, with a cupid of white stone standing at her breast; at the right and left hand, two ivory scepters, and at head and feet two large urns, with others of less size. There were also many large vessels of glass, all full of white liquor.

\* So said, ann. 1607.

† 32, as the moderns say.  
E. e

|| Orpheus's harp.  
Next,

Next, after a great winding, it receives the river Lea, the eastern bound of this county, which yet has nothing upon it belonging to this shire, that is worth the notice. For Ædelmton has nothing remarkable but the name, being deriv'd from nobility; nor Waltham, but a cross built by king Edward I. for the funeral pomp of his wife queen Eleanor, from which it has the additional name. Only, there is Enfield, a royal seat, built by Thomas Lovel (knight of the garter, and privy-counsellor to king Henry VII.) as one may gather from the arms. Near which is a place, cloath'd with green trees, and famous for deer-hunting, Enfield-chace; formerly the possession of the Magnavils earls of Essex, then of the Bohuns their successors; but now it belongs to the duchy of Lancaster, ever since Henry IV. king of England, married a daughter and coheir of the last Humphrey Bohun. And, almost in the middle of this chace, \* are still the ruins of an ancient house, which the common people from tradition affirm to have belong'd to the Magnavils earls of Essex.

Towards the north bounds of Middlesex, a military way of the Romans, commonly call'd Watlingstreet, enters this county: Coming strait along from the old Verulam to London, over Hamsted-Breth (from which one has a curious prospect, of a most beautiful city, and a most pleasant country:) Not the road which lies now through Highgate, for that (as is before observ'd) was open'd only about † four hundred years ago by permission of the bishop of London; but that more ancient way (as appears by the old charters of Edward the confessor) which run along near Edgeworth, a place of no great antiquity; so on to Hendon, which archbishop Dunstan (a man born for promoting the interest of monkery) purchas'd for a few Bizantine pieces of gold, and gave to the monks of St. Peter in Westminster. These Bizantini aurei were imperial money coin'd at Bizantium or Constantinople by the Grecian emperors; but what the value of them was, I know not. There is also a sort of silver money, call'd simply Bizantii and Bizantini, which (as I have observ'd here and there in ancient records) were valued at two shillings. But leaving those matters to the search of others, I will go forward, on the journey I have begun.

In this county, without the city, there || are about 73 parishes; within the city, liberties and suburbs, \*\* 221.

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\* Ann. 1607. † Three, C. || Ann. 1607. \*\* Now, 113, besides Westminster, and in the whole county and city, 186, besides those newly built, and in building.

More rare PLANTS growing wild in *Middlesex*; communicated by Mr. *James Petiver*.

*Salix minima fragilis foliis longissimis utrinque viridibus non serratis Raii synopsis. append. 238.* Dr. Sherard's Green Osier. Amongst the Willows on the Thames-side, between Westminster and Chelsey.

*Bardana seu Lappa major capitulis minus tomentosis Raii synopsis. 245.* which Mr. Doody has very well observ'd to be far different from that in gardens, for which it has been taken.

*Conyza annua, acris, alba, Linariae foliis. Boccon. rarior. plant. desc. Boccones.* White flower'd biting Ileabane. In many barren places about London.

*Hieracium Castorei odore Monspeliensium Raii syn. 43.* Rough Hawkweed smelling like Castor. This Mr. Doody (master of the company of apothecaries physick-garden) informs me he hath found about Chelsey.

*Gramen Arundinaceum aquaticum panicula Avenacea Raii syn.* Mr. Doody's Water-reed-grass with an oat-like pannicle. First observed by him on the banks of the river Thames between London and Chelsey.

*Gramen avenaceum glabrum panicula e spicis raris strigosis composita, aristis tenuissimis Raii syn.* Mr. Doody's Oat-grass with hairy awns. I have observed these three last about the moat which encompasses the seat of the right reverend the bishop of London at Fulham.

*Nymphaea lutea Ger. f. B. major lutea C. B. Park.* The greater Water-lily with a yellow flower. In the aforesaid moat near the garden gate.

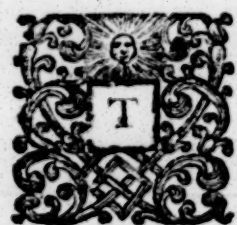
*Acorus verus sive Calamus officinarum Park.* The sweet-smelling Flag or Calamus. This Mr. Doody hath observed about the said moat.

*Ranunculus hirsutus annuus flore minimo Rai syn. 86.* Field-Crowfoot with a very small flower.

*Sium minimum Raii hist. Plant. 444. syn. 67.* The least Water-P. Snep. In several ponds on Hounslow-heath.

*Filix mas non ramosa pinnulis latis auriculatis spinosis Ger. 1130.* Prickly auriculate male Fern. This is found in the woods about Highgate and Hamstead.

# E S S E X.



THE other part of the Trinobantes, call'd from its eastern situation and the Saxons who possess'd it, East-Seaxa, and East-Sex-rcire; by the Normans, Exsiesia; and commonly, Essex; is a country of great breadth, very fruitful, and abounding in saffron, well stor'd with wood, and exceeding rich. On one side, the sea, on the other, the rivers, well stock'd with fish, do, as it were, encompass the county, and make it a kind of peninsula, and plentifully serve it with their several accommodations. To the north, the river Stour divides it from Suffolk; on the east, the sea comes up to it; on the south, the river Thames (now increas'd to a vast bigness) separates it from Kent; as, on the west, the little river Ley separates it from Middlesex; and the Stort, or lesser Stour (which runs into the Ley,) from Hertfordshire. In describing this county, I shall use my former method, and first observe what is most worthy our notice upon the Ley and the Thames, and then proceed to the parts that lie inward, and those that border upon the sea.

Near the Ley, in Saxon Lygean, is a chase of vast extent, and full of game (the \* largest and fattest deer in the kingdom) call'd heretofore, by way of eminence, the forest of Essex. It is now call'd Waltham-forest, from the town Waltham, in Saxon Wealdham, i. e. a dwelling in the woods. This town is seated on the Ley (where the stream, being divided, encloses several little islands,) and is not very ancient. For in the latter times of the Saxons, one Tovius, a man of great wealth and authority, and first earl-bearer to the king (as we read in a private history of the place,) "by re-

\* So said, ann. 1607.

“son of the abundance of deer, built the town, and peopled it with  
 “sixty-six men.” After his death, his son Athelflan soon squander’d  
 away the estate: And Edward the confessor bestow’d this village on  
 Harold, son to earl Godwin, who built a monastery here, in which  
 himself was interr’d. For having possess’d himself of the crown  
 (through his own ambition, and the inadvertency of others;) he rais’d  
 this structure in honour of the holy cross. Here he solemnly made his  
 vows for success against the Normans; and, being presently after slain  
 by them in battle, his mother obtain’d his body of the enemy by the  
 most submissive intreaties, and deposited it in the same place. It \* has  
 been honour’d with the title of a baron in the lord Edward Deny,  
 summon’d to parliament by king James I. Above this, stands Copt-  
 hall, which being built upon a rising hill, is seen at a great distance;  
 formerly the seat of the Fitz-Auchers, and † afterwards of Sir Tho-  
 mas Heneage, Knt. who brought it to great perfection. On this river,  
 without doubt, was seated the old Durolitum of Antoninus; but it is  
 beyond my skill to determine the exact place: For (to speak once for  
 all) the ancient places of this county are so strangely obscure and puz-  
 zling, that I, who in other parts may pretend to have made some disco-  
 veries, must here freely own my self in the dark ‡. But were I to guess  
 in this matter, the place I should pitch upon, is Leiton, which still  
 retains the ancient appellation, signifying a town upon the Ley, as  
 Durolitum is, in British, the water of Ley. It is at present a little scat-  
 tering village some five miles from London; for which number, thro’  
 the negligence of transcribers, fifteen have crept into the itinerary.  
 One ward in Leyton parish is still call’d Leyton-stone, which answers  
 the old Roman way of expressing miles by stones, and may be some  
 confirmation of the foregoing conjecture, that for v lapidem, is falsly  
 read in the itinerary xv. lapidem. And the Roman antiquities found  
 here, argue it to have been a Roman station: For of late years there  
 hath been a large urn resembling a great cream-pot, taken up in the  
 church-yard here, with some ashes and coals sticking to the sides of it.  
 And between this town and Stratford-Langton, near Ruckols or Ruck-  
 holt-hall, the seat of Sir William Hicks, Knight and Baronet, on the  
 south side of a lane call’d Blind-lane (which was the ancient highway  
 that led out of Essex through Old-ford to London,) abundance of their

\* I, C.

† Lately, C.

‡ N. B. He sought them in the wrong road, i. e. from  
 London to Burntwood, &c. which was not used till after the conquest.

urns, of several sizes, figures, and moulds, have been taken up by the gravel-diggers there, within two or three foot of the surface of the earth. In some of these pots, are ashes, and in some divers small pieces and shivers of bones, which have not been quite consum'd in the funeral fires. And within this piece of land, are not only found the remains of burnt bodies, but coffins and bones have been met with, as well as pots; and, among the rest, a chin-bone, of a very great bigness, much exceeding that of an ordinary man. In the same place was dug up a small brazen figure, resembling a man. That here was formerly a passage over the river, the forementioned place in the neighbourhood, call'd Ouldford, or the Old-ford, plainly evinces; and when Matilda wife to Henry I. had very narrowly escaped drowning, she took care to have a bridge built somewhat lower on the river at Stratford. Where, being divided into three streams, it washes the green meadows, and makes them look very charming. In these, we meet with the ruins of a little monastery, built by William Montfichet, a great Norman lord, in the year 1140. Then the Ley, presently uniting its stream, runs with a gentle current into the Thames; whence the place of the meeting is call'd Leymouth.

Near the Thames (now grown very large by the vast additions it hath receiv'd,) the most remarkable places are these: Berking, call'd by Bede Berecing; where was a nunnery, founded by Erkenwald, Bishop of London. Here the Thames receives a little rivulet call'd Roding, that gives name to several villages by which it runs; as Highbroding, Eithorp-Roding, Leaden-Roding, &c. two of which were given to the church of Ely by Leofwin, a nobleman, to atone for the most barbarous murder of his own mother. Next to this is Ancre, where, upon a very high hill, are the marks of a castle built by Richard Lucy, chief justice of England under Henry II. A coheir of which family was married by king John to Richard de Rivers, who lived at Stanford-Rivers, hard by. And, before it joins the Thames, it runs near Wansted, where is a noble house, with elegant and spacious gardens, the seat of Sir Richard Child, who hath been lately advanced to the honour of lord Castle-mayne, in Ireland.

From the mouth of the Roding, the Thames keeps on its course (through a low country, in many places frequently laid under water by the unwholsome vapours whereof do very much impair the health of the adjacent inhabitants,) to Tilbury: Near which, are several spacious caverns in a chalky cliff, built very artificially of stone, to the height of ten fathoms, and somewhat straight at the top.

Of these, I have nothing more to say, than what I have mentioned elsewhere. But this Tilbury, which Bede calls Tilaburg, consisting at present of a few cottages by the Thames side, was formerly the see of bishop Ceada, when, about the year 650, he converted the East-Saxons to the Christian faith. Afterwards, passing by other places that do also lie low, and are unhealthy, the tide separates the island Convennos (which is the Counos mention'd by Ptolemy) from the continent. This place has not quite lost its name, but is still call'd Canvey. It runs along the Essex shore for five miles together, from Leegh to Holehaven; and some part of it belongs to the church of Westminster. But the ground is so extreme low, that it is very often quite drowned, except a few of the highest hillocks, which serve for a retreat to the sheep. Of these, there are commonly fed four thousand in this island, the flesh of which is of a very excellent taste. I have observ'd the young men, with their little stools, milking them, like women in other places, and making cheese of ewe's milk in their little dairy-houses, or huts built for that purpose; which they call wiches.

Overagainst this island, are seated, in order, Beamfleet, fortified "with a castle and with large deep ditches (saith Florilegus) by Hastings, or Hasteny, the Dane;" which were all forc'd and taken by king Alfred. Then Hadleigh, formerly the castle of Hubert de Burgh, afterwards of Thomas de Woodstock, now a heap of ruins: And, lastly, Leegh, a pretty little town, well stock'd with lusty seamen. Near this, stands Pritewell, in which one Swain de Essex heretofore built a cell for monks. Here, the land juts out into a nook call'd Black-tayl-point, and Shoberry-Nesse, from Shobery, a little village upon it, formerly the city Sceobirig. For we read in the old Saxon annals, that "the Danes being chased from Beamfleet, repair'd to a city of the East-Saxons, call'd, in their language, Sceobirig, and there fortified themselves." Here the Thames, forsaken of its banks on both sides, empties it self, out of a vast mouth, into the ocean. Whence the place is call'd by Ptolemy, Tamesæ, and, in some copies, corruptly, Tamesæ astuarium, by us, the Thames-mouth.

Further into the main land, lies Rochford, which gave name to this hundred, \* the estate of the lords Rich. It was formerly possess'd by a very ancient family of the same name, whose estate, after a long time, came to Butler, earl of Ormond and Wiltshire, and then to Thomas

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\* Ann. 1607.

Bollen, created by Henry VIII. first, viscount Rochford, and afterwards earl of Wiltshire; from whom the excellent queen Elizabeth, and the barons Hunsdon, are descended.

In the marshy grounds adjoining to the Thames, about West-Thurrock, Dagenham, &c. great numbers of subterraneous trees have been discover'd by the inundations of the Thames; which frequently happen in those parts, notwithstanding the greatest diligence to prevent them. They were found with roots, boughs, and some part of the bark; and have been probably beaten or blown down by some great inundations, or by some violent storms, which bear very strongly upon this shore.

Within sight of the Thames, going from west to east, and at some distance from the shore, the places of note are these that follow, in their order: First, Havering, an ancient retiring place of the kings, called so from a ring given there by a certain stranger to Edward the confessor, as a present from St. John. Horn-Church, called formerly Horn-Monastery; from a pair of huge leaden horns shooting forth on the east side of the church. Rumford, famous for the hog-market, and a house adjoining call'd Giddy-hall, which belong'd to Thomas Cke, some time lord mayor of London; whose great riches expos'd him to very great dangers. For though he was innocent, yet was he accused of high-treason, and being, by the integrity of judge Markham, acquitted in the worst of times; he had, notwithstanding, a severe fine imposed on him, very near the value of his whole estate. Brentwood, and Engerston, formerly Engheaston, noted only for their markets and inns.

Here I am at a stand, and in doubt whether I had best take this opportunity to bring forth a conjecture which I have some time since conceiv'd. Seeing the city *Cæsaromagus* was certainly seated in these parts, and was, no doubt, a place of great note in the time of the Romans, as the very name imports (signifying the city of *Cæsar*, in the same manner as *Drusomagus*, the city of *Drusus*;) which too seems probably to have been built in honour of *Augustus*: For *Suetonius* informs us, that all the princes who were the friends and allies of that emperor, built cities in his honour; in the names of which, the word *Cæsar* was always a part: What then if I should fix *Cæsaromagus* near this Brentwood? Could the reader forbear to smile at my fancy? For my opinion can receive no support from the distances in the itinerary, since the numbers are there so strangely corrupted: Yet those from *Colonia* and *Canonium* agree well enough.

Nor can I draw an argument from the situation of it on a Roman way; since we can find no footsteps of any such in this county. Nor do we meet with the least shadow of the word *Cæsaromagus*, unless it be a very small affinity in the name of the hundred formerly called *Ceasford*, now *Cheafford* hundred. And indeed, as the names of some ancient places are very little altered, and others quite changed; there are others so mangled, that only one syllable or two of the former denomination remains. Thus *Cæsar-augusta* in Spain, is now corrupted into *Saragosa*; *Cæsaromagus* in Gaul hath entirely lost its old name, and assumed that of *Beauvois*; and *Cæsarea* in Normandy hath scarce one entire syllable left it, in the present name *Cherburg*. But why do I dwell on these trifles? If *Cæsaromagus* be not in this neighbourhood, let others seek for it elsewhere. For my part, the discovery is beyond my reach, though I have used all the assistance that my eyes and ears could procure. This († in the opinion of Mr. Talbot) was at *Chernsford*, or *Chernsford*; but that he should wheel about from *Leyton*, to seek for *Cæsaromagus* in those parts, seems a little strange. Had he gone from thence, right over *Epping-Forest*, about the distance from *London* as set forth in the itinerary, viz. twenty-eight miles, he would have met with a town, the first sight whereof might promise something great and august. I mean *Dunmow*, written in *Domesday* *Dunmaw*, and in old deeds, now in the possession of some of the neighbours thereabouts, and sometimes in the registers of the bishops of *London*, *Dunmage*. Now this *Dunmow* appears, even from the name, to be a place of great antiquity, being deriv'd from two old Gaulish, or British words; viz. *Dunum*, a dry gravelly hill, and *Magus*, a town. As for the change of *Mawe*, *Mauge*, or *Mage*, into *Mow*, it is very natural; whether we consider the sound of (a) changed commonly, in later-times, into (o), as *ham*, *home*; *fald*, *fold*; &c. or the melting of (g) into (w), than which nothing is more common, and obvious, to any one who compares the more ancient with the more modern words. So that no difference now remains, but the substituting *Dun* for *Cæsar*; and nothing was more common with the Saxons, than to take part of the Roman name, and out of it to frame another by addition of *burh*, *chester*, *dun*, &c. Besides, the distance between this and the next station, adds strength to the conjecture, that *Dunmow* is the old *Cæsaromagus*; being distant in the itinerary from *Colonia* (Col-

\* There are, at *Raine*. See below.

† *Barran's Itinerary*, p. 197.

chester) twenty-four miles; which may agree well enough with the common computation of twenty, since (as appears by *Domesday-book*) our reckoning is according to the Saxon or German Leuga, consisting of fifteen hundred paces, and the Italick make only one thousand. Add to this, that from Dunmow to Colchester, is a direct road; wherein are still to be seen in some places, the remains of an old Roman way; which, by the country-people who live upon it, is to this day (particularly at Raine) call'd, *The Street*: The very word (*strata*) us'd by our countryman Bede to signify a Roman road. And in an old perambulation of the forest, in the time of king John, it is said to bound on the north *super stratum ducentum a Dunmow versus Colcestriam*, upon the street leading from Dunmow towards Colchester, meaning this road: To which it may be further added, that, hard by, near Little-Canfield, are two ancient fortifications, both defended by deep ditches; one of which is called at this day the castle-yard: And these (together with the name, and the distances) induced the late learned commentator upon the itinerary, to settle the *Canenium* of Antoninus at Little-Canfield, in the neighbourhood of Dunmow.

Below Brentwood, I saw South-Okendon, heretofore the seat of the Bruins, a family of very great repute in these parts. From which, by two coheirs who were several times married, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, the Tirels, Berniers, Harlestones, Heveninghams, and others, are descended: The issue male of this family are still remaining in Hampshire. And Thorndon, where Sir John Petre, Knight, baron Petre, of Writtle, built a fair seat. It was formerly the habitation of the noble family of Fitz-Lewis; the last of which, if we believe common report, was by the casual burning of the house at the solemnity of his wedding, miserably consum'd in the flames. Then Burghsted, by contraction Bursted, i. e. the place of a Burgh; a denomination given to many places by our ancestors. Here I once thought was the *Caesarmagus*; but whatever it was formerly, at present it is only a small village inhabited by husbandmen, near Billericay, a pretty large market. Hard by, is Ashdown, formerly Astandun, i. e. as *Marianus* interprets it, *The mount of asses*; famous for a desperate battle, in which Edmund Ironside at first had the better of the Danes, but afterwards, through treachery, lost the day, together with a great number of his nobility. In memory of which, we read, that Canutus the Dane built a church here: When, repenting of all the blood he had occasioned to be spilt, he erected some kind of religious structure, wherever he had engaged in fight.

Not far from hence, lies Raleigh, a pretty little town: It seems to be called Bageneia in Domesday, which makes mention of a castle built here by one Sueno. Where also we read thus; "There is one park, and six arpennies of vineyard, which, if it takes well, yields twenty modii of wine." Which I here take notice of, both for the French word Arpennis, and for the mention of the wine made in this island. This Sueno was a very eminent and honourable person, the son of Robert Fitz-Wimaerc, and father of Robert de Essex, to whom was born Henry de Essex, standard-bearer to the king by right of inheritance: Who, in a skirmish with the Welsh, threw away his courage and standard together; and being accus'd of high-treason, and overcome in single combat by Robert de Montfort, and cast into prison, his vast estate made a considerable addition to king Henry II's exchequer. His barony remain'd a long time in the crown, till Hubert de Burgh obtain'd a grant of it from king John.

Further to the north, the shore, retiring by degrees, gives entrance to the sea in two places; one of which bays, the inhabitants call Crouch, and the other Blackwater, formerly Pant. In Crouch there lie four pretty green islands, but the frequent overflowings make them fenny and moorish.

The most considerable, are Wallot; and Foulness, that is, the promontory of birds or fowls, which hath a church, that at low water may be come at on horseback. Between these bays lies Dengy-hundred, formerly Dauncing. The grass here is excellent good, and it is well stock'd with cattle; but the air none of the healthiest. The only trade, almost, that is driven here, is in cheese; and men milk the ewes, like women in other places. Here are made those cheeses of an extraordinary bigness, which are used, as well in foreign parts as in England, to satisfy the coarse stomachs of husbandmen and labourers. Dengy, the chief town, is thought to have receiv'd its name from the Danes, which it gives to the whole hundred. Nigh this, stands Tillingham, given by Ethelbert, the first Christian king of the Saxons, to the monastery of St Paul in London. Higher up, toward the northern shore, stood once a flourishing city, called by our ancestors Ithancester. For thus Ralph Niger tells us out of Bede; "Ceada the bishop baptized the East-Saxons near Maldon in the city of Ithancester, which stood upon the bank of the river Pant, that runs near Maldon in the province of Dengy; but that city hath since been swallow'd up in the river Pant." I cannot exactly point out the place; but, that the river Froshwell was heretofore called Pant, I

am pretty confident, because one of its springs still keeps the name of Pant's-Well, and the monks of Coggeshall speaking of it, use the same appellation. Some think this Ithancester to have been seated in the utmost point of Dengy hundred, where stands at present St. Peter's on the wall. For along this shore, the country people are hard put to it, to keep the sea out of their fields, with great banks and walls. I am inclined to believe, that this Ithancester was the same as Othona, the station of the band of the Fortenles with their provost, in the declension of the Roman empire; who were placed here under the count of the Saxon shore, to secure the coast against the pyrating Saxons. For Othona might very easily pass into Ithana, and the situation in a creek at the mouth of several rivers, was very convenient for such a design. Here we may add, that the confessor granted the custody of this hundred to Ranulph \* Peperking, by a short charter; which I am willing to set down, that we, who examine every thing by the niceties of law, may see the innocent plainness of that age. It stands thus in the records of the Exchequer; but, by often transcribing, some words are made smoother than they were in the original.

Iche Edward koning  
 Have geven of my forrest the keeping.  
 Of the hundred of Chelmer and Dancing,  
 To Randolph Peperking and to his kindling:  
 With heorte and hinde, doe and bocke,  
 Hare and foxe, cat and brocke,  
 Wilde fowell with his flocke,  
 Partrich, fesant hen, and fesant cock:  
 With greene and wilde stob and stock.  
 To kepen and to yemen by all her might,  
 Both by day and eke by night;  
 And hounds for to holde  
 Good and swift and bolde:  
 Fower grehounds and six racches,  
 For hare and fox, and wild cattes.  
 And therefore ich made him my booke:  
 Witnesse the bishop Wolston  
 And booke ylered many on,

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\* The Normans call him Peverell.

And Sweyne of Effex our brother  
 And taken him many other,  
 And our Stiward Howelin  
 That by fought me for him.

Such was the honest, undesigning simplicity of that age; which thought a few lines and a few golden crosses sufficient assurances in all cases. "For before the coming in of the Normans (as we read in Ingulphus), indentures were confirm'd by golden crosses and such other marks; but the Normans us'd to do it, with an impression in wax, of the particular seals of the parties concern'd, and three or four witnesses. But before, many tenures were granted by a bare word, without writing or paper, only by the sword of the lord, or his helmet; by a horn or a cup: And several others by a spur, a curry-comb, a bow, and sometimes by an arrow."

Blackwater-bay (which, as I said before, bounds the north part of this hundred) affords plenty of the best oysters, which we call Wallfleet oysters. \* They are so term'd, from the shore of that name, where they lie; along which, the inhabitants have been forc'd to build a wall of earth to defend themselves against the breakings-in of the sea. It was made five miles in length; and upon that shore only where this reaches, are these oysters to be met with. Into that bay flow two rivers, which wash the greatest part of the county. Chelmer and Frohwell. Chelmer, coming from the inner parts that are cloathed with wood, passes through Thaxted, a little market town, seated very pleasantly on a hill; and Tiltey, where Maurice Fitz-Gilbert founded a small monastery; to Estannes by the tower, now Elton; which was the seat of the lords of Lovain, descended from Godfrey, brother to Henry VI. duke of Brabant; who being sent hither to take care of the Honour of Eya, were barons, to the sixth generation. But in the time of Edward III. for want of issue-male, the estate and honour pass'd by marriage to William Bourghier; whose posterity were for a little while earls of Effex.

Then Chelmer runs to Dunmow, anciently Dunmawg, and in Domestday Dunmaw (which is prov'd before to be the Caesaromagus of Antoninus,) a town of a very delightful situation, on the top of a gentle ascent; where one Juga founded a monastery in the year 1111. "But

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\* Norden's Effex MS.

" William

“ William Bainard (as we read in the private history of that monastery) of whom Juga held the village of Little Dunmow, was for a long time deprived of his barony, and king Henry I. gave it to Robert, son of Richard Fitz-Gilbert, earl of Clare, and to his heirs, with the honour of Bainard-castle in London; which Robert was then a feoffee to king Henry.” These are the author’s own words. Nor do I think it just for me to alter them, tho’ they contain a manifest *anachronismos*, or anticipation of time; a failing to be met withal in the best historians. For that family was not as yet honour’d with the dignity of earls of Clare. \* In the priory here, Robert Fitz-Walter (a powerful baron in the time of Henry III.) instituted a custom, that whoever did not repent of his marriage, nor quarrell’d with his wife within a year and a day, should go to Dunmow and have a gammon of bacon. But the party was to swear to the truth of it, kneeling upon two hard-pointed stones set in the priory church-yard for that purpose, before the prior and convent, and the whole town. But this by the way.

Now let us retire a little further from the river on both sides. On one side, not far off, stands Hatfield Broadoake, in which church lieth cross-legg’d the first earl of Oxford; and at a little distance from the river, Ilalisy, so call’d in French, from Pleasing. The former name was Estre, the seat of the constables of England in the latter end of the Saxons, and afterwards too, as the Ely-book informs us. To the same place, two very powerful nobles (who could not keep themselves between the two extremes of flattery and obstinacy, to their prince) do owe their death; Thomas de Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, and earl of Essex; and John Holland, earl of Huntingdon brother, by the mother’s side, to king Richard II. and once duke of Exeter; but afterwards deprived of that honour. The former, for his rashness and contumacy, was hurried from hence to Calais, and strangled; the other was beheaded in this very place, for rebellion, by command of Henry IV. So that he seem’d by his death to have appeas’d the ghost of Woodstock, of whose fall he was accounted the main procurer. Hence the Chelmer runs near Leeze, a little monastery, built by the Gernons; once the seat of the lords Rich, who ow’d their honour to Richard Rich, a person of great wisdom, and chancellor of England under Edward VI. whose posterity were advanced to the dignity of earls of War-

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\* Plott’s Staffordshire, p. 444.

wick; but it is now a feat of the duke of Manchester. A little lower is Hatfield-Peverel, so call'd from the owner of it Ranulph Peverel, who had to wife one of the most celebrated beauties of the age, daughter to Ingelric, a noble Saxon. She founded here a college, now in a ruinous condition, and lies entomb'd in the window of the church, whereof a little is still remaining. By her he had William Peverel, governor of Dover castle; and Pain Peverel, lord of Brun in Cambridgeshire. The same lady bore to William the conqueror, whose concubine she was, William Peverel, lord of Nottingham. But to return to the Chelmer. Next it visits Chelmerford, commonly Chensford, which by the distance from Camalodunum should be the old Canonium. As to Chelmsford, it is a pretty large town, seated almost in the middle of the county, between two rivers which meet here; Chelmer from the east; and another from the south, of which, if the name be Can (as some will have it) we may \* still fancy this place to have been the old Canonium.

It was famous in the memory of the † last age, for a little monastery built by Malcolm, king of Scotland. At present, it is remarkable only for the assizes being kept there. The place began to recover itself, when Maurice bishop of London (to whom it belong'd) did in the time of Henry I. build a bridge here, and brought the great road through this town. Before it lay through Writtle, famous for the largeness of the parish; which king Henry III. gave to Robert Bruce, lord of Anandale in Scotland, who had married one of the daughters and heirs of John, last earl of Chester, because he was unwilling that the county of Chester should be divided among women. But the posterity of Bruce forsaking their allegiance, Edward II. granted this place to Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex. And when king James I. at his coming to the crown, advanc'd several deserving persons to the honourable degree of barons, he created John Petre, a very eminent knight, baron Petre of Writtle whose father William Petre, was a person of extraordinary wisdom and learning, not so famous for the great offices he had borne in the kingdom (having been of the privy council to Henry VIII. Edward VI. queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth, and often ambassador to foreign states,) as for his liberal education, and his encouragement to learning at Oxford, and for his bounty to his poor neighbours at Engerston. This place, in the bull of pope

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\* Conclude, C.

† So said, ann. 1607.

Paul IV. (whereby he granted to the aforesaid William Petre the sale of several monasteries belonging to religious houses dissolv'd by king Henry VIII.) is call'd Ging-Abbatilla, alias Ging ad Petram, vel Ingentone. And in the neighbourhood are several villages, whereof Ging or inge make part of the name, as Ging-grave, Menas-inge, Marget-inge, and Prier-inge.

Froshwell, call'd more truly Pant, and afterwards Blackwater, rising out of a little spring near Radwinter, which belong'd to the lords Cobham; after it has run a great way, and met with nothing considerable (except Bocking, a rich parsonage; Cogshal, built by king Stephen for Cluniack monks; and Whittam, by Edward the elder, in the year 914; said to have been the honour of Eustace, earl of Belegu;) meets with the Chelmer, which coming down with its whole stream from a pretty high hill not far from Danbury (for a long time the habitation of the noble family of the Darcies;) passes by Woodham-Walters, the ancient seat of the lords Fitz-Walters, as eminent for nobility as antiquity; being descended from Robert, younger son to Richard Fitz-Gislebert, an earl; and, in the \* last age, grafted by marriage into the family of the Rarcliffs; who, being advanc'd to the honour of earls of Suffex, had a noble seat not far from hence, call'd New-hall. This belong'd formerly to the Butlers, earls of Ormond; then to Thomas Bol-len, earl of Wiltshire, of whom king Henry VIII. procur'd it by exchange; and, having been at great charge to enlarge it, gave it the name of Beau-lieu; tho' this never prevail'd among the common people. Now the Chelmer with the confluence of the other rivers (being divided by a river-island, and quitting its ancient name for that of Blackwater or Pant) salutes the old colony of the Romans, Camalodunum, which has made this shore famous; call'd by Ptolemy Camulodanum, and by Antoninus Camulodunum and Camoludunum: but that the true name is Camalodunum, we have the authority of Pliny, and Dion, and of an ancient marble. How strangely have some persons lost themselves in the search after this city! though the very name points it out to them, be they ever so blind. Many have sought it in the west of England; as did one, among the rest, who thought himself no mean man in antiquity; and others in the furthest part of Scotland; and others have, with Leland, affirm'd Colchester to be the place: When, all the while, the name is very little alter'd; and instead

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\* So said, ann. 1607.

of Camalodunum, it is call'd at present Maldon, and in Saxon Mac-dune and Mealdune; the greatest part of the word remaining whole and entire. Nor are the plain remains of the name the only argument for this assertion; but the distance too from the Mona of Pliny, and the situation in the ancient itinerary table, are as plain proof as any in the world. I dare not venture to say that this place was so call'd from the god Camulus; and yet, that Mars was worshipp'd under this name, appears from an old stone at Rome, in the house of the Colloti, and from altars that have been found with this inscription, CAMVLO DEO SANCTO ET FORTISSIMO. And, upon an old coin of Cunobeline (whose chief feat this was, as I have observed before,) I have seen a figure, with a helmet and a spear, which probably was that of Mars, with the letters CAMV.

He govern'd this eastern part of the island in the reign of Tiberius, and is suppos'd to have had three sons, Adminius, Togodumnus, and Caractacus. Adminius being banish'd the kingdom by his father, and receiv'd by C. Caligula, accompanied him into Batavia on that ridiculous expedition which he made to put a terror upon Britain. As for Togodumnus, Aulus Plautius overcame and kill'd him in a set battle; and the same person having put Caractacus to the rout, as I have mention'd in another place, carried him to Rome, to grace his ovation (or lesser triumph.) This is that Plautius, who, by the advice of one Caius Bericus, a British exile (pretences for war always offering themselves) did, first after Julius Cæsar, make an attempt upon Britain under the emperor Claudius, whom Claudius himself soon follow'd with the whole force of the empire, and with elephants; the bones of which being casually found, have given rise to several groundless stories. Passing the Thames, he put the Britains to flight, who stood to receive him on the other side, and easily possess'd himself of this Camalodunum. For which achievements, his son was honour'd with the title of Britannicus, and himself often saluted emperor; and six months after his setting out, he return'd to Rome. But I have spoken of these matters more fully in another place, and am not willing to trouble the reader with a repetition of them here.

Camalodunum being reduced under the subjection of the Romans, Claudius placed here a stout band of Veterans for a colony, and coined money in memory of this action, with the following inscription:

COL. CAMALODVN.

From whence it appears, that this happen'd in the twelfth year of that emperor, which falls in with the year of Christ 52. In an old inscription which follows, it is call'd COLONIA VICTRICENSIS, from the Veterans of the fourteenth legion, which had the name of Gemina Martia Victrix, whom Tacitus calls the conquerors of Britain.

CN. MUNATIUS. M. F. PAL.  
AURELIUS BASSUS  
PROC. AUG.  
PRÆF. FABR. PRÆF. COH. III.  
SAGITTARIORUM PRÆF. COH. II.  
ASTYRUM. CENSITOR. CIVIUM.  
ROMANORUM. COLONIÆ.  
VICTRICENSIS  
QUÆ. EST. IN. BRITANNIA.  
CAMALODUNI.  
CURATOR. VIÆ. NOMENTANÆ.  
PATRONUS. EJUSDEM. MUNICIPII.  
FLAMEN PERPETUUS. DUUMVIRALI  
POTESTATE. ÆDILIS. DEDICATOR. III.

Now a colony (if the knowledge of this be material) is a body of men brought into a fortified place, and invested with the right of possession. These, for the most part, were Veterans; both, that provision might be made for them, and that they might defend the place against rebels, and inure the friends and allies of the Romans to the laws and customs of the empire. These colonies were in great honour and esteem, being, as it were, images and representations of the city of Rome. They had their magistrates too, superior and inferior; of which since others have given us accounts already, it would be unnecessary for me to spend time in describing them. In this Roman colony (the first in Britain) was a temple erected to the honour of Claudius: Tacitus calls it, "The altar of eternal dominion." Seneca also takes notice of it in his scoffing satire on the death and deification of that emperor: "It is no great matter (saith he) that Claudius hath a temple in Britain, which the barbarous people now worship and adore as a deity." For there were priests chosen to his honour, namely, the Sodales Augustales, who under pretence of religion juggled the poor Britains out of their fortunes and estates. But after ten years space, the course of things turn'd, and this colony was utterly ruin'd: For when the Veterans.

terans, that were brought into this country after it had been subdued, exercis'd a cruel tyranny over the poor subjects; the sparks of the war, which had lain conceal'd so long, broke out in a more violent flame than ever. The Britains, under the conduct of Boudicca, or Boadicia, plunder'd and burnt this colony, as secur'd with no fortifications; and in two days space storm'd the temple, where the soldiers had got together to defend themselves; routed the ninth legion that was coming to their assistance, and, in a word, kill'd seventy thousand Romans and allies. This dreadful slaughter was foretold by several prodigies. The image of Victory in this city turn'd it self round, and fell to the earth. In the court were heard strange cries, and the theatre sounded with howlings and groans: Houses were seen under the water of the Thames, and the neighbouring bay overflow'd with blood. (This bay we since call Blackwater, though I know not for what reason, as Ptolemy calls it Idumanus, which seems to denote the same thing; Ydu in British signifying black. Yet the Romans rais'd it again out of its ashes: For Antoninus makes mention of it a long time after this.) In a garden here at Maldon, was found a gold Roman coin, almost as large as a guinea; on one side Nero, and on the reverse Agrippina, very exactly wrought.

During the Saxon government, we scarce find it nam'd; only Marianus informs us, that Edward, son to king Alfred, repair'd Malduna, which had been ruin'd in the Danish wars, and fortified it with a castle. William the conqueror (as we read in Domesday) had in it "one hundred and eighty houses, held by the burgers, and eighteen mansions laid waste." At present, for largeness and store of inhabitants, it is justly reckon'd among the chief towns of this county, and is call'd, in law language, the borough of Maldon. It is a pretty convenient harbour, and for its bigness populous enough, being one long street, about a mile in length.

Six miles from Camalodunum, Antoninus fixeth the place which he calls Ad Ansam. I should guess this to have been some mark relating to the bounds of that colony, made in the shape of a handle. For I have read in Siculus Flaccus, "The fields that lay near the colonies were determin'd by several sorts of bounds: In the limits, there were placed for marks, sometimes one thing, and sometimes another. In some, a little statue of Mercury; in others a wine-vessel; in others a spatula; in others a rhombus, or figure in shape like a lozenge; and in some, according to Vitalis and Arcadius, a flagon or a jar."

And why might not Ansa be such a mark? Especially since Antoninus hath Ad Ansam, and not Ansæ, according to his usual stile. What a religious care they took in setting up their land-marks, I shall in a short digression describe out of the same author. "For in ordering  
 "and disposing these bounds, first they brought the stone and set them  
 "on the firm ground, nigh the place where they design'd to dig holes,  
 "to fix them in. Then they adorn'd them with ointments, coverings,  
 "and garlands. Having kill'd and sacrific'd a spotless victim on the  
 "hole where they were to set them, they dropp'd down the blood on  
 "burning torches that were plac'd in the earth, and scatter'd incense  
 "and fruit upon them. They added to these, wine, honey-combs,  
 "and whatever else was customary in sacrifices of this kind; and when  
 "the fire had consum'd all the provision, they plac'd the stone that  
 "was for the boundary on the burning coals, and fasten'd it with  
 "all imaginable care, treading in small fragments of stones round about  
 "it, to make it the more firm." Wherever this station Ad Ansam was, I continue in my former opinion about the name of it; That it was either a boundary in that shape, or some station or inn on the road with this sign; and that, from the distance, near Coggeshal. For they were no other than boundaries or inns, which the Romans, after the same form of speech, call'd, Ad Columnam, Ad Fines, Ad tres Tabernas, Ad Rotam, Ad septem Fratres, Ad Aquilam minorem, Ad Herculem, &c. and therefore a longer enquiry into this matter would be time and pains thrown away to no purpose.

\* A later writer imagines, that Ad Ansam might be written instead of Ad Arcam; which, if true, favours the foregoing conjecture; because Arca was a monument also, such as they set up in the borders of fields, and observ'd for limits. Hence we read in an old glossary, *Arca, ackra cteematon*, i. e. the utmost extent of possessions. And, as for the position, suppos'd before not to be far from Coggeshal†; what has since happen'd in those parts, confirms his opinion. By the road side was discover'd an hypogæum or grot, with arched work; wherein was a lamp in a glass vial, cover'd with a Roman tile, whose diameter was fourteen inches. There were also some urns and crocks, wherein were ashes and bones. Among the rest, was one of a polite and most fine substance, resembling rather coral than red earth, which had this inscription upon the cover, *Coccillim*, perhaps for *Coccilli M.* that is,

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\* Burton Comment. in Itinerar.

† Ibid.

Cocilli Manibus. If this Coccillus was some governor, who, under Antoninus Pius, had the command of these places (as \* Weaver imagines) it is possible that the present name Coggeshal may have still some remains of that.

Notwithstanding which, there is this objection against that conjecture. From Dunmow (the old Casaromagus) to Colonia or Colchester, there is a direct port way which runs through Coggeshal. Now, if that had been the old Ad Ansam, it is unaccountable, how the itinerary (which often takes a wide circuit to hook in a town) should, in the fifth iter, pass by this, that lay in its road. What then, if we should pitch upon Wittham? The direct road from Combretonium (or Bretton in Suffolk,) the next station before Ad Ansam (Iter 9.) lies through it: And it stands at an exact distance from Camalodunum (Maldon) which immediately follows Ad Ansam in the itinerary, viz. six miles. Besides, it does not want good evidences of its antiquity; for, between the church and the street, are still visible the remains of a large old camp; tho' much of the fortifications are dug down to make way for the plow, and a road lies through the midst of it. What Matthew Westminster has observ'd, of a castle built there by Edward the elder, about the year 912, or 914, and how, in the mean time, he kept his court at Maldon; is a farther testimony of its antiquity, since (as we observ'd before) the Saxon nobility made choice of the forsaken camps of the Romans. If these arguments be convincing, that Ad Ansam was at Wittham, and that the ruinous camp there is the remains of it; then it is probable that the stately manour-place here in Fauburn, a mile distant from it, was formerly the Villa or country-house of some noble Roman. And what renders the conjecture more plausible, is a silver coin of Domitian, discover'd under the very foundation of an old wall (built partly of Roman brick) by the servants of Edward Bullock, lord of the manor.

After this, the banks give entrance to the salt water in a large and most pleasant bay, abounding with the best sort of oysters which we call Wallfleet oysters. And lest the British shore should be depriv'd of the glory that belongs to it, I fancy those to have been the very same, which Pliny tells us, serv'd the Roman kitchens. For Mutian reckons our British oysters in the third place after those of Cizicum, in the following words; "The Cizican are larger than the Lucrine, and sweeter

\* Funeral Monument.

" than

"than the British." But neither at that time, nor afterwards, when Sergius Orata brought the Lucrine oysters into request, "did the British shore (for so he words it) serve Rome." So that he seems to give preheminance to the British one.

These are the same, I believe, that Ausonius calls mira (wonderful) in that verse of his to Paulinus:

*Mira Caledonius nonnunquam detegit æstus.*

The British tide does sometimes wonders show.

But to speak of these, and of the stews or pits on this shore which they are preserv'd in, would be a more proper subject for those who by their exquisite palate are able to decide criticisms in a kitchen.

Into this bay, among other rivers, runs the Coln, which, growing out of several springs in the north part of the county, washeth Hedingham, or Hengham, commonly Heningham: formerly a neat castle, and the ancient seat of the earls of Oxford. Opposite to which, on the other side of the river, lies Sibble-Heningham, the birth-place (as I have been told) of the famous John Hawkwood, call'd corruptly by the Italians Aucuth: By whom he was so highly admir'd for his military courage and conduct, that the senate of Florence, in token of his extraordinary deserts, honour'd him with a statue on horseback, and with a noble tomb, for a perpetual testimony of his valour and fidelity. The Italians talk largely of his noble exploits, and Paulus Jovius celebrates them in his elegies. I shall only set down these four verses of Julius Feroldus, concerning him.

*Hawkwood Anglorum decus, & decus addite genti  
Italicae, Italico præsidiumque solo.  
Ut tumuli quondam Florentia, sic simulachri  
Virtutem Jovius donat honore tuam.*

Hawkwood whom England boasts her stoutest son,  
And glad Italians their preserver own,  
A stately tomb as grateful Florence gave,  
So learned Jovius does thy picture save.

Near Heningham, is Wetherfield, which in an old deed of Hugh Nevil, is written Weresfield. This Hugh was with king Richard I in his

his wars in the Holy Land, where he slew a lion, by an arrow shot, and by running him through with his sword; which gave occasion to that old verse,

*Viribus Hugonis vires periere Leonis.*

The lion's strength courageous Hugh excels.

To the abovementioned \* deed (which is short and plain, according to the undesigning simplicity of those times,) is affix'd his seal, wherein is express'd the manner of this atchievement, and about which is writ en. Sigillum Hugonis Nevil.

From Henningham, the Coln keeps on its course through Hawsted, which was the seat of the family of the Bourghchiers, of whom Robert Bourghchier was chancellor of England in the time of Edward III. and from him an honourable series of earls and lords are descended. From hence, passing through Earls-Coln (so call'd from being the burying-place of the earls of Oxford; where Aubrey de Vere founded a small convent, and himself took a religious habit;) it goes on to Colonia, which Antoninus mentions, and makes a † different place from Colonia Camaloduni. Whether this Colonia be deriv'd from the same word signifying a colony, or from the river Coln, is uncertain. For my part, I am more inclin'd to the latter, since I have seen several little towns upon it, which, adding the name of Coln to that of their respective lords, are call'd Earls-Coln, Wakes-Coln, Coln-Engain, Whites-Coln. But yet it is also true, that it was usual for the Saxons to make new names, by adding their ceaster, burh, &c. to part of the Roman one; and so, Earls-Colne, Wakes-Colne, &c. which were probably of much use being, might be so call'd, immediately from the river, as that from the colony. Why might not this be a colony of the Londoners (as Londonderry, of late years, in Ireland,) especially since Tacitus has particularly observ'd, that London was a famous mart-town, and very populous? If this be allow'd, there is no doubt but that Adelphius de Civitate Colonia Londinensium (one of the British bishops at the first council of Arles) had his seat here; though it be denied by some learned men, for no other reason but an imaginary supposition of a mistake

\* In the possession of Mr. John Nevil, a branch of that family. takes them the same, and reads Colanea, p. 91.

† Dr. Gale committed

committed by some ignorant transcriber. This city the Britains call *Caer Colin*, the Saxons *Coleceaster*, and more anciently *Colneceaster* as in the Saxon annals, and we *Colchester*. It is a beautiful, populous and pleasant place, extended on the brow of an hill from west to east and surrounded with walls, and adorned with fifteen churches; besides that large church which Eudo, sower to Henry I. built in honour of St. John; \* now turned into a private house. In the middle of the city stands a castle ready to drop with age: Historians report it to have been built by Edward, son to Ælfred, when he repaired *Colchester*, which had suffered very much in the wars. But that this city flourished exceedingly in the time of the Romans, abundance of their coins every day found here, are a most certain argument. That I have met with none more ancient than Gallienus, viz. those of the Tetrici, Victorini, Posthumus, C. Carausius, Constantine, and the succeeding emperors. Besides which, here are also found old Roman bricks equilaterally square, like paving bricks, but thinner; and some huge thick ones. It is likewise observable, that the towers and churches are built of Roman bricks and ruins. And at an inn in the market place, the stable, as also the room above it, is of Roman building. There is likewise, in this town, an ancient house (some of the back part of which is Roman building but the front more modern,) whereon, in an escutcheon, are these figures. 1090; from whence it hath been proved, that numerals here in England are of longer standing than has been generally supposed, and longer by forty-three years than appears from that other inscription, in numerals also, on a man's piece at Helmdox in Northamptonshire. The inhabitants glory that Fl. Julia Helena, mother to Constantine the great, was born in this city, being daughter to king Cælus. And in memory of the cross which she found, they bear for their arms, a cross engrailed between four crowns. Of her, and of this city, thus sings Alexander Necham, though with no very lucky vein:

*Effulsi sydus vitæ, Colcestria lumen  
Septem Climatibus lux radiosa dedit.  
Sydus erat Constantinus, decus imperiale,  
Serviit huic flexo poplite Roma potens.*

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\* So said, ann. 1607.

† The Queen's Head.

A star of life in Colchester appear'd,  
 Whose glorious beams of light seven climates shar'd.  
 Illustrious Constantine, the world's great lord,  
 Whom prostrate Rome with awful fear ador'd.

The truth is, she was a woman of a most holy life, and of unwearied diligence in propagating the Christian faith: Whence in old inscriptions she is often stiled, PISSIMA, and VENERABILIS AUGUSTA.

Below this town, where the Coln empties it self into the sea, lies the little town of St. Osith; the former name was Chic, in the Saxon annals Cice; the present it receiv'd from the holy virgin St. Osith, who, devoting her self entirely to the service of God, and being stabbed here by the Danish pirates, was by our ancestors esteem'd a saint. In memory of her, Richard, bishop of London, about the year 1120, built a religious house, and fill'd it with canons regular. This was made an honour by act of parliament in the 37th year of king Henry VIII. and \* was the chief seat of the right honourable the lords Darcy, stiled lords of Chich, and advanced to the dignity of barons by Edward VI. At some distance from the river is Lair-Marney, so call'd from the lord Marney, to whom it belong'd, and who, with some others of that name, lie interr'd in very fair tombs in the church there.

Upon the sea coast lies Mersey island, containing eight parishes. It is a place of exceeding great strength, for which reason the parliament put in a thousand men to guard it from being seiz'd by the Dutch, about the beginning of the Dutch wars. Beyond this, to the east, is Great Clackton, where was some time a stately house of the bishops of London, and a park; but the house is now fallen, and the park dismark'd.

From Colchester, the shore thrusts it self out a vast way, to Nessle point, in Saxon Eadulphesness. What was once found hereabouts let Ralph de Coggeshal tell you, who wrote † 350 years ago. "In the time of king Richard, on the sea-shore, in a village call'd Eadulphesness, were found two teeth of a giant, of such a prodigious bigness, that two hundred of such teeth, as men ordinarily have now, might be cut out of one of them. These I saw at Cogshal, and handled, with great admiration." Another, I know not what gigantick re-

\* Is now, C.

† So said, ann. 1607.

lique, was dug up near this place in the beginning of queen Elizabeth, by the noble R. Candish. Nor shall I deny that there have been men of such extraordinary bulk and strength, as to be accounted prodigies; whom God (as St. Austin tells us) produc'd in the world, to shew, that comeliness of body, and largeness of stature, were not to be esteem'd among the good things, because they were common to the wicked, with the virtuous and religious. Yet we may justly suspect, what Suetonius hath observ'd, that the vast joints and members of great beasts, dug up in other countries, and in this kingdom too, have been call'd and reputed the bones of giants. Those, particularly, which we have mentioned, and others that have been more lately found near Harwich, at a small village call'd Wrabness, are supposed to be the bones of elephants; not only because they far surpass the bigness of the largest creatures which we have in our land at this day, but also because (as hath been already observ'd from the Roman histories) the emperor Claudius brought over abundance of elephants, in his wars with the Britains.

From the Nesse-point, the shore runs back by little and little to the Stour's mouth, famous for a sea fight between the Saxons and Danes in the year 884. And I know not whether this, which is call'd Orwell-haven, might not be the place which the Danes sail'd up in the year 1016, when they had a design upon the kingdom of Mercia. The Saxon annals call it Arwan; and as it may not be unreasonable to suppose that the true name of this harbour may be Arwell, so do we find, on one side of it, Harwich, and on the other side, Arwerton. But this by the by.

Here, as I said, is seated Harewich, a very safe harbour, as the name imports; for the Saxon hare-pic signifies as much as a haven or bay where an army lies. The walls of this town are for the most part built and the streets generally pitch'd, with a petrified sort of clay falling from the cliffs thereabouts; which tumbling down upon the shore, and being wash'd by the sea at high-water, is in a short time turn'd into stone. Some that are new fallen, are as soft as the clay in the cliff; others that have lain longer, crust'd over and hard; but if open'd, or broken, the clay is still soft in the middle: Others that have lain longest, are petrified to the very heart. And the like petrification is made of wood as well as clay; a large piece whereof, sent from hence, is reserved in the repository of the Royal Society. Tho', after all, it hath been made a question of late, whether this hardness of the clay is owing at all to petrification, and is not really its natural state. At the bottom

bottom of the cliff, in a stratum of stone, are imbedded divers shells, as well of the turbinate, as bivalve kind.

Through the growth of the marine action of England, this place has been of great importance to the crown for fifty years past, and still is, from its conveniences for the ready cleaning and refitting of ships of war resorting hither, and its capacity for new erections, to the degree of second and third rates; divers whereof have been built here, to the great accommodation of the state. Till the beginning of the last century, the use generally made of Colne-water (in the neighbourhood of this place) was, the harbouring of the royal navy; but by the forementioned more noble use, this hath been laid aside and extinguished. In the seventh year of the reign of queen Anne, a law was enacted for appointing commissioners to treat for such lands, as should be judg'd proper for the better fortifying of this place, together with Portsmouth and Chatham.

In the year 1689, Meinhardt Schonberg, together with the title of duke of Schonberg, had also conferr'd on him, by king William III. the title of marquiss of Harwich.

Over-against it, at Langerfort (contracted from Land-guard-fort, which, tho' it may seem to be in Suffolk, is notwithstanding by the officers of his majesty's ordnance in the tower of London, writ in Essex, according to former precedents,) are the remains of an ancient fortification, which shew great labour and antiquity. The line of it runs southerly, from a little without the town-gate to the beacon-hill-field, about the midst of which is a round artificial hill, cast up probably either for placing their standard on, or else for a tumulus over some one of their commanders deceased; for that we find common in many parts of England. Another work runs a-cross from the first, easterly; but they are both broken off by the encroachings of the sea.

At Warbness, near Harwich, in the year 1701, were found bones of an extraordinary bigness, fifteen or sixteen foot beneath the surface of the earth; supposed, by those who have view'd and consider'd them, to be the bones of elephants, as agreeing with \* a late description thereof; and it being also certain (as we just now observ'd) that Claudius brought great numbers of them into Britain. And the depth at which they were found, may be accounted for by the continual washings of the soil, from the adjacent hills.

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\* Mullin's anatomical account.

South of Harwich, are Thorp, Kirkby, and Walton, included within the ancient liberty call'd the liberty of the Stoke. In these, no man may be arrested by any kind of process, but of the bailiff of the liberty; and not by him, but with the consent of the lord, first obtain'd. The sheriff hath no power within this liberty, in any cause whatsoever; but the bailiff executeth all matters as if he had viscountile authority.

The Stour parteth Essex and Suffolk; and in the fourth year of the reign of queen Anne, an act of parliament pass'd for the making it navigable from Manningtree in this county to Sudbury in Suffolk. On this side, it runs by no place, except some fat pastures. But not far from the spring of this river stands Bumsted, which the family of the Helions held by barony. And in that part of the county which is opposite to Cambridgeshire, lies Barklow, famous for four great barrows, such as our ancestors us'd to raise to the memory of the soldiers who were kill'd in battle, and, as some will have it, whose remains could not otherwise have been preserved. But when two others in the same place were search'd by digging, we are told they found three stone coffins, and abundance of pieces of bones in them. The country people have a tradition, that they were rais'd after a battle with the Danes in that place. And the wall-wort, or dwarf-elder, that grows hereabouts in great plenty, and bears red berries, they call by no other name but Danes-blood, from the multitude of Danes that were slain there.

Lower, among the fields (which make a pleasant show with the saffron,) is seated Walden, a market-town, call'd thence Saffron-Walden, formerly Waldenburg, and afterwards Cheping-Walden. It was heretofore famous for a castle of the Magnavils, of which little remains at present; and for a small adjacent monastery, in which the Magnavils, founders of it, lie interr'd. Jeffrey de Magnaville was the first that gave life to this place. For Maud the empress gave him Newport, a pretty town in the neighbourhood, in these words, transcrib'd from the original charter: "For as much money as he us'd to pay at the  
" day of my father Henry's death, and to remove the market of New-  
" port to his castle of Walden, with all the customs which before be-  
" long'd to the said market, in toll, passage, and other customs: And  
" that the ways of Newport, which lie near the shore, be turn'd to  
" Walden according to custom, upon the ground forfeited to me: and  
" that the market at Walden be kept on Sundays and Thursdays, and  
" that there be a fair held in Walden, to begin on Whitsun-eve, and

"last all the following week." (From this market the place was long call'd Chepping-Walden.) We read also in the register of this abbey, as follows: "He appointed Walden as the head of his honour and of the whole county, and for a seat for himself and his heirs. The place where he built the monastery, had great plenty of water, which ran here continually from springs that never dried up. The sun visits it very late in the morning, and forsakes it very soon in the evening, being kept off by the hills on each side." This place is now call'd Audley-end, from Thomas Audley, chancellor of England, who chang'd the monastery into a dwelling-house for himself. He was created baron Audley of Walden by Henry VIII. and left one daughter and heir, Margaret, second wife to Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk; who had issue by her, Thomas, William, Elizabeth, and Margaret. Thomas, famous for his naval exploits, was summoned to parliament by queen Elizabeth Anno 1587, by the name of lord Howard of Walden. And king James I. created him earl of Suffolk, and made him lord chamberlain. Near whose house, at Chesterford, there was a much more ancient little city (hard by Icardune, in the very utmost limits of the county;) which now, from the old burrough, the country people call Burrow-bank. There are only the marks of some ruin'd place, and the plain track of the walls. I shall by no means affirm it to be the \* Villa Faustini which Antoninus mentions in these parts; for tho'

*Ingrati haud leti spatia detinet campi  
Sed rure vero, barbaroque letatur:*

Of no vast tracts of barren land 'tis proud,  
But like true country, innocently rude:

Yet I shall not so much as dream that this was the Villa Faustini described in these and the other verses of the witty & epigrammatist.

The fields all about, as I have said before, look very pleasant with saffron; for in the month of July every third year, when the roots have been taken up, and after twenty days put under the turf again, about the end of September, they shoot forth a blueish flower, out of the midst whereof hang three yellow chives of saffron, which are ga-

\* This is supposed to be St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk.

† Martial.

cher'd

ther'd in the morning before sun-rise, and being taken out of the flower, are dried by a gentle fire. And so wonderful is the increase, that from every acre of ground they gather eighty or an hundred pounds of wet saffron, which when it is dry makes about twenty pounds. And, what is more to be admir'd, that ground which hath borne saffron three years together, will bear barley very plentifully eighteen years without dunging, and then will bear saffron again.

More to the south lies Clavering, which Henry II gave, with the title of baron, to Robert Fitz-Roger, from whom the family of the Euers are descended. His posterity for a long time having, after the old way, taken for their surname the christian-name of their father, (as John Fitz-Roberts, Robert Fitz-John, &c.) at length, upon the command of Edward I. they took the name of Clavering, from this place. But of these, when we come to Northumberland. Here also Stansted-Montfitchet presents it self to our view; which I must not pass by in silence, since it was formerly the seat or barony of the family of the Montfitchets, who bore for arms, three chevrons or, in a shield gules; and were reckon'd among the chief of our nobility. But the male line continued no farther, than to five descents; and then the inheritance fell to three sisters, Margaret, wife to Hugh de Bolebec, Aveline, wife to William de Fortibus, earl of Albermarle, and Philippa, wife to Hugh Playz. The posterity of the last continued till within the memory of our \*grandfathers, and ended in a daughter married to Sir John Howard, knt. from whose daughter, by George Vere, the lords Latimer and Wingfield are descended. A little lower stands Haslingbury, the seat of the lords Morley, of whom more in Norfolk. Adjoining to this, is an old military vallum, thence call'd Wallbery; and more to the east Barrington-hall, heretofore the seat of that eminent family of the Barringtons, who, in the time of king Stephen, were greatly enrich'd with the estate of the lords Montfitchet; and in the memory of our †fathers, a match with the daughter and co-heir of Henry Pole, lord Montacute, son and heir to Margaret countess of Salisbury, render'd them more illustrious, by an alliance with the royal blood.

After the Norman conquest, Maud, the empress, lady of the English, as she used to stile her self, created Geoffrey de Magnaville or Mandevil (son of William, by Margaret heiress to Eudo the sewer) first earl

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\* So said, ann. 1607.

† Ibid.

of Essex, that she might secure to her party a person of so great power, and experience in war. He, in the civil wars under king Stephen, put an end to a troublesome life, in the field. "It was he also (as ancient writers inform us) who, for his many villainous practices, incur'd the sentence of excommunication; under which, at the little town of Burwell, he receiv'd a mortal wound in the head. As he was just expiring, some templars came in, who put on him the habit of their order marked with a red cross; and when he was dead, carried him away with them in their own precincts, the old temple at London, where, putting him into a pipe of lead, they hang'd him on a tree." To him succeeded his two sons, Geoffrey and William, both taken off without issue. Afterwards king John, in consideration of a large sum of money, promoted Geoffrey Fitz-Pierz of Ludgershal (chief justice, and a very wise and grave man) to this dignity. He had taken to wife Batrice, eldest daughter to William de Say, descended from the sister of Geoffrey de Magnavil, first earl of Essex. "A great monied man (saith an old author) and vastly rich; who, with a round sum of money, and many intreaties, made application to the bishop of Ely the king's justice and laid claim to this earldom (in right of his wife, daughter of William, brother to Geoffrey de Say, the eldest son) by title of inheritance. Who admitted him into full seisin thereof, and demanded the promis'd sum; which he receiv'd within a little time, to put into the king's exchequer. He being thus admitted, and confirm'd by the king's letters patents, held and possid this honour, and receiv'd the homage of those that held of him by knight's service." Geoffrey and William, two sons of this Geoffrey Fitz-Pierz, taking the surname of Magnavil, or Mandevil, enjoy'd this honour. The former of these di'd young, being kill'd at a publick tilting. The other took part with Lewis of France against king John, and died without issue. Upon which, the honour came to Humfrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, and constable of England. For thus writes the chronologer of Walton-Abbey: "In the year 1228, the sixth of the ides of January, William de Mandevil, earl of Essex, di'd, &c. In the same year, Humfrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, and constable of England, espoused Maud, daughter to Geoffrey earl of Essex, and so succeeded in that honour." But from the publick records it is evident, that Henry de Bohun, father of this Humfrey, married the said heiress. And such a mistake might easily creep in; for in the writers of that age, the christian-names are only mark'd with great letters; as H for Henry or Humfrey, G for Gilbert or Geoffrey, &c.

&c. Of this family the heirs male succeeded in the dignity of earls of Hereford and Essex for a long time; whom I have reckoned up among the earls of Hereford, because they wrote themselves earls of Hereford and Essex. Eleanor, eldest daughter to the last of the Bohuns, being given in marriage (with the honour) to Thomas de Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, had by him Anne, first married to Edmund earl of Stafford, from whom sprung the dukes of Buckingham, and then to William Bourchier, to whom king Henry V. gave the county of Ewe in Normandy. This last had by her Henry Bourchier, advanced to the dignity of earl of Essex by Edward IV. He was succeeded by another Henry, his son's son, who died in his old age by a fall from his horse, leaving issue one only daughter, Anne; who being laid aside, king Henry VIII. (that he might make a new addition to the honours of Thomas Cromwell, who had been his main assistant in baffling the pope's authority;) made him, at the same time, earl of Essex, high chamberlain of England, and knight of the garter. Before this, for his extraordinary prudence and dexterity, he had made him master of the rolls, secretary of state, baron Cromwell of Okeham, vicar-general to the king in spiritual matters, and lord keeper: And all this in five years time. But after five months enjoyment of his earldom, he (like most great favourites) concluded his scene very tragically, and lost his head for treason. The same king promoted to the earldom of Essex William Par, to whom he had given in marriage Anne, the only daughter and heir of Henry Bourchier. But he also dying without issue, Walter Devreux, viscount Hereford, whose great grandmother was Cicely Bourchier, sister to Henry Bourchier (of whom we spoke but now) receiv'd the honour of earl of Essex by the favour of queen Elizabeth; and left it to his son Robert, who being, on account of his natural graces and endowments, highly in favour with that excellent princess, sail'd with such a smooth and prosperous gale into honours and preferments, as to make it the common hope and expectation of the kingdom, that he would equal, if not exceed, the greatest characters of his ancestors. But at last, being carried away with ambition and popularity, and endeavouring to out-run even his own hopes, he hurried himself into destruction: Thus, many who condemn slow methods, though secure, chuse sudden and violent ones, to their own ruin. But his young son Robert was restor'd to full possession of his father's honour by authority of parliament through the special favour of the then most serene sovereign king James

James I. and, being twice married, by his second wife had only issue, Robert, who died young. So that, departing this life September 14, 1646. without issue, that honour became vacant; till shortly after the restoration, king Charles II. created Arthur Capel (baron of Hadham, and viscount Maldon) earl of Essex; whose son Algernoon succeeded to the same honours; and, dying in the year 1710, was succeeded therein by William his son, the present earl.

There are reckon'd in this county 41; parish churches.

### More rare PLANTS growing wild in *Essex*.

*E. Atriplex maritima laciniata* C. B. Jagged sea-orrache. On the sandy shores in Mersey island near Colchester plentifully; also on the sandy shores at Little-Holland in Tendring hundred, and elsewhere.

*Cinatis Daphnoides minor* J. B. C. B. *Vinca pervinca Officinarum minor* Ger. *vulgaris* Park. Periwinkle. I have observed it in some fields by the road side leading from Wittham to Kelvedon in the hedges, and among bushes: Also in a hedge by the foot-way from Falsburn-hall to Wittham, and elsewhere.

*Cochlearia folio sinuato* C. B. *vulgaris* Park. *Britannica* Ger. English or common sea scurvy-grass. It grows so plentifully in the marshes about Maldon, that the common people gather it, and send it about to the markets above ten miles distant, where it is sold by measure.

*Crocus* J. B. Ger. *sativus* C. B. *verus sativus Autumnalis* Park. Saffron. It is planted and cultivated in the fields about Walden, thence denominated Saffron-Walden, plentifully. Of the culture whereof I shall say nothing, referring the reader to what is above-written by Camden; and to the full description thereof in the philosophical transactions.

*Herba Paris*. Herb-Paris, or true-love. In Chaalkney-wood seven miles from Colchester, and in Saffron-Walden Ger. I have observed it in a little wood call'd Lampit-grove, belonging to Black-Norley-hall. It is no very rare plant in woods, and sometimes also in hedges, all England over.

*Mentha angustifolia spicata glabra, folio rugosiore, odore graviore*. Spear-mint with a more ruged leaf and strong scent. Found by Mr. Dale beside Bocking river, below the Pulling-mill, in two or three places.

*Mentastri aquatici genus hirsutum, spica latiore* J. B. *Mentha palustris folio oblongo* C. B. *Mentastrium minus* Ger. *emac. hirsutum* Park. Water-mint, with a grosser spike. This also was first found and shewn to me by Mr. Dale near the same river a little above the Fulling-mill: Since, I observ'd it my self in a ditch near the corn-mill, below the fulling-mill, plentifully.

*Turritis* Ger. *vulgatior* J. B. *Park. Brassica sylvestris foliis integris & bipidis* C. B. Tower-mustard. On the banks by the highway side as you go up the hill from Lexden towards Colchester, and in the fields on each side the way.

It is to be noted, that these annual plants may some years, by some accident or other, spring up of the seed, and afterwards appear again.

To these I might add the four sorts of male-fern describ'd by Mr. Goodyer in Dr. Johnson's emaculated Gerard, which are all common about Black-Notley and Brain-tree, viz.

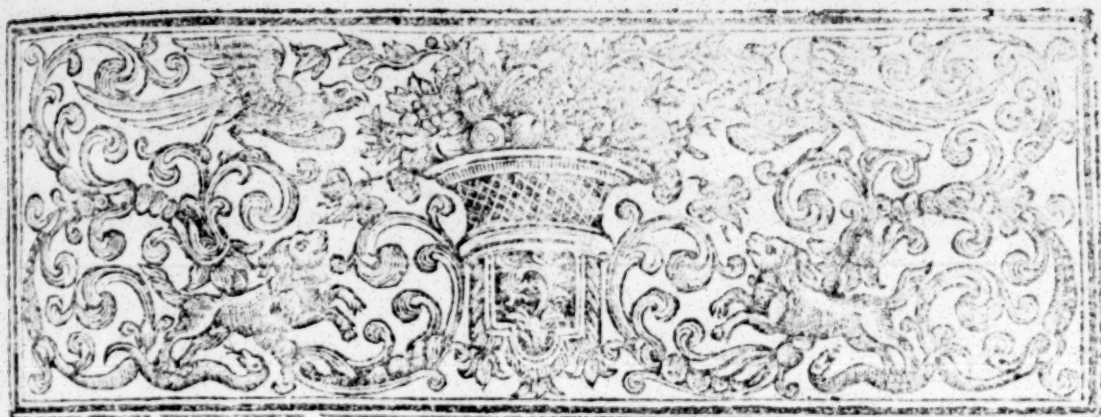
1. *Filix mas non ramosa pinnulis dentatis*. Great-branched male-fern with indented leaves.

2. *Filix mas non ramosa pinnulis latis densis minutim dentatis*. The most common male-fern.

3. *Filix mas non ramosa, pinnulis angustis, raris, profunde dentatis*. Male-fern with thin-set deeply-indented leaves. There is a good figure of a leaf of this in Dr. Plukenet's Phytograph. part 3. tab. 180.

4. *Filix mas non ramosa pinnulis latis auriculatis spinosis*. Prickly male-fern with auriculate leaves.

If you look upon these plants in their several growths and ages, you may (as Mr. Goodyer saith well) make many more sorts of them: Which I am afraid hath been the occasion of describing more sorts than indeed there are in nature.



# I C E N I.

**T**HE country next to the Trinobantes, call'd afterwards East-Anglia, and comprehending the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon; was formerly inhabited by the Iceni (miscall'd in some copies Tigeni, and by Ptolemy yet more corruptly Simeni.) Not as if the bounds of these, or any other people of the Britains, could be nicely determin'd. For how can we hope exactly to distinguish them, when our ancient authors only deliver at large in what quarter of the nation they were seated, without descending to their particular limits? Besides, most of the barbarous nations seem (according to their strength at different times) to have had dominions larger or narrower: Especially, in Britain (where were so many kings) we cannot imagine, but that they were frequently making incroachments upon one another. All (I think) we can safely conclude, is, that there is scarce a possibility, that the British divisions should include exactly so many counties, since the bounds of the counties were set long after the British times by king Alfred, who no doubt had rather an eye to the convenience of the kingdom, than the exact limits of the Britains.

I have been a long time of the opinion, that by a mangling of the name Iceni, the very same people were call'd in Cæsar Cenimagni. To which I was inclin'd, as by the affinity of the names Iceni and Cenimagni, & by comparing Cæsar and Tacitus together. For the latter tells us, that the Cenimagni surrender'd themselves to the Romans. Now, that the Iceni did so, Tacitus informs us in these words: "On their own accord, they came over to our side." But what is of great moment in this matter, is, that a manuscript divides the word Cenimagni, and reads it Ceni, Agni; for which I would willingly substitute Iceni, Regni, if it might be done without the imputation of robbing liberty. Thus much is certain, that you will never find the Cenimagni in any other part of Britain, if you make them a distinct people from the Regni and Iceni. However, of the name Iceni there are several remains in the parts; such as Ikenworth, Iworth, Ikenhamp, Ibborow, Iken, Ikning, Ichingham, Eike, &c. and that circular way which led from hence, frequently call'd by the chorographers of the last age Ichenidstreet, as if one should say, the street of the Iceni. What the original of the name should be, I dare not so much as guess, unless one should derive it from the wedgy figure of the country, which lies upon the ocean, in form of a wedge. For the Britains in their language call a wedge Iken; from which figure a place in Wales by the lake Lhntegid, is call'd Ihan-yken; and in the same sense a river in Spain is nam'd Sphen, i. e. a wedge (as Strabo observes), which does not so well answer the figure of a wedge, as this of ours.

But others alledge, that Ptolemy's tables, and modern observations have represent'd it rather under a quadrangular form; and Sir Henry Spelman's opinion may seem more probable, that it comes from the famous river Ife; especially if the Britains call that Ichen. "Lyside" (says he) in Asia, the Indians come from the river Indus; in Greece the Maonians from Maonia; in Scythia, the Alani from Alania; in Germany, the Aftians from Alsa; in France, the Sequani from Saona. And so in England, the Derbyshire inhabitants from Derby; the Lancastrians from Lan or Lon; the Northumbrians from Humber; and Wiltshire from the Willy. And as for the change of (s) into (c), that may be easily justified, if it be true that in Latin instead of the Greek (s) they use (ch); so, Ichen for Ien; Soch for Such for Beus, &c.

And as the Iceni may be well deriv'd from Ife, \* so this, in all

\* Spelman's Iceni.

bability, has its name from that famous Heathen goddess Isis. For who knows not, that the Heathens consecrated rivers, as well as woods and mountains, to their deities, and call'd them after their names? And that Ceres and Proserpine (otherwise call'd Isis) two infernal goddesses, were worshipped by the Britains, we have Strabo's authority. Or if we had not, the accounts which we have left us of their customs would be sufficient to inform us of their worship. Upon this is grounded their preferring nights to days; as also their computations of days by nights; of months, by moons; and of years, by winters. The remains of it we keep to this day in our seven-night, i. e. seven days; and fortnight, contracted from fourteen-night, i. e. fourteen days.

After Britain came to be a branch of the Roman empire, and was divided into five parts, it is not certain under which branch these Iceni were comprehended. They are generally plac'd under the Flavia Caesariensis, which seems agreeable enough to that division; but the Noticia of the western empire places the Britannia secunda where Ptolemy reckons up the Tribantes and Simeni; which last are, no doubt, the same with the Iceni.

This people (as Tacitus says) was stout and valiant, and after they had cast themselves upon the protection of the Romans, suffer'd nothing by war till the time of Claudius. But then, Ostorius the procurator beginning to fortify the passes with castles, and to disarm the Britains, they got into a body and made an insurrection. The effect whereof was this: The Romans broke thorow the works, within which they had fortified themselves, and so they were suppress'd with great slaughter. In this engagement, there happen'd many memorable exploits; and M. Ostorius, the lieutenant's son, had the honour of saving a citizen. That war being thus ended, scarce thirteen years after there arose a new storm, upon this occasion. Prasutagus, king of the Iceni (that he might provide for the safety of his people, though with his own private damage) made the emperor Nero his heir; "taking it for granted (to express my self in Tacitus's words) that by this testimony of submission and respect, his kingdom and family would be out of danger. But the issue was quite contrary; for his kingdom was wasted by the centurions and his house by slaves; as if both had been taken by force of arms."

Upon this, first his wife Boadicea, otherwise call'd Boudicca, was whipp'd, and her daughters ravish'd. And, as if they had had that whole country bestow'd upon them, there was not a leading man among the Iceni, but was turn'd out of the inheritance of his ancestors.

tors; and even the royal family was treated no better than slaves. Upon this ill usage, and the apprehensions of worse (since they were now reduced into the form of a province,) they take up arms, and inviting the Trinobantes, with such others as were not yet inured to slavery, to join with them, attempt the recovery of their liberties by this secret combination; urg'd on by a mortal hatred against the Veterans. From these beginnings, there broke out a most terrible war, and it was farther heightened by the avarice of Seneca, who about that time exacted with the highest oppression three hundred thousand pounds, which he had scrap'd together by most unjust and oppressive usury. In this war, to give you the whole in short, Boadicea (whom Gildas seems to term a treacherous lioness) wife of Prasutagus, slew eighty thousand of the Romans and their allies, ras'd the colony of Camalodunum and the free town of Verulamium, routed the ninth legion, and put to flight Catus Decianus the procurator: But at last, being defeated by Paulinus Suetonius in a set battle, she ended her days with undaunted courage, by a dose of poison, as Tacitus will have it; but, according to Dio, after a fit of sickness. When this war was on foot, Xiphilin tells us from Dio, that the Britains principally worshipp'd the goddess Victory under the name of Andates (whom a Greek copy in another place calls Andraсте,) and that in the grove consecrated to her, they offer'd captives, with the highest inhumanity. But yet the Britains at this day do not express victory by any such name; nor do I know what it should mean, unless, as the Latins had their *Victoria a vincendo*, from conquering; the Sabines, their *Vacina, ab evacuando*, from emptying; and the Greeks their *Nice apo tou me dechein*, from refusing to give ground; so the Britains might have their *Anarbaith* from overthrowing; for by that word they express a fatal overthrow. But this by the by. From that time, no author has one syllable of the Iceni; nor can we gather any thing about them from history, but that the Romans, in the decline of their empire, set a new officer to guard their sea-coast, and the coasts of some other parts, against the pyracies of the Saxons, and stil'd him count of the Saxon shore in Britain, as we observ'd before.

Whether this people had another of their own name about Worcestershire and Staffordshire (as Dr. Plot has endeavour'd to prove) is not our business to enquire, in this place. I must confess, that action of the proprator Ostorius (which is mention'd above, as undertaken against those Iceni) seems to have been further westward, than their bounds reach'd. For the next accounts we hear of their army, after they

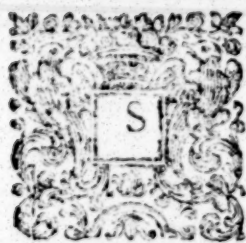
they had settled things there, is among the Cangi, i. e. about Cheshire and Denbyshire. "The army was led into the Cangi", says \* Tacitus: And, "Now they were marched not far from the sea which is within sight of Ireland."

After the Saxons had settled their heptarchy, this province fell to the kingdom of the East-Angles; which, from its easterly situation, they call'd in their own language Eastangle-ryc, i. e. the kingdom of the East-Angles. The first king it had, was Uffa; and from him, his successors were for a long time call'd Uff-kings, who seem to have sometimes held under the kings of the Mercians, and sometimes under those of Kent. That line failing in St. Edmund, the Danes over-ran the country, and for fifty year together harra's'd and afflicted it with all the miseries of war; till at last Edward the elder got the better of them, and added it to his own kingdom of the West-Saxons. From that time, it had its deputy-governours; which honour, about the coming in of the Normans, was held by one Ralph, born in Little-Britain in France. He was a man of treacherous principles; and, getting together great numbers of people, under pretence of celebrating his marriage, enter'd into a villainous conspiracy against William the conqueror. But where so many were privy to it, it was in vain to hope for secrecy. So, the whole matter was discover'd, himself was depriv'd of his honour and attainted, and others were beheaded. But a more particular account of those matters belong to historians: Let us prosecute our design, and proceed to places. What sort of country this was, learn from Abbo Floriacensis, who flourish'd in the year of Christ 970, and has thus describ'd it: "This part, which is call'd East-angle, as upon other accounts it is very noble so particularly, because of its being water'd almost on all sides. On the south-east and east sides, it is encompass'd by the ocean; on the north, by large and wet fens, which beginning almost in the heart of the island, do, by reason of the evenness of the ground, for a hundred miles and more, descend in great rivers into the sea. On the west, the province is join'd to the rest of the island, and therefore may be enter'd by land; but lest it should be molested with frequent incursions of the enemy, it is fortified with an earthen rampire like a high wall, and with a ditch. The inner parts of it are a pretty rich soil, which is made exceeding pleasant by gardens and groves; and render'd agree-

\* Annal. l. 12. c. 32.

“able by its convenience for hunting; famous also for pasturage; and  
 “abounding with sheep and all sorts of cattle. I do not insist upon its  
 “rivers, as affording plenty of fish, considering that a tongue of the  
 “sea as it were licks it on one side, and on the other, the large fens  
 “make a prodigious number of lakes two or three miles over. These  
 “fens accommodate great numbers of monks with their desired retire-  
 “ment and solitude; with which being enclos’d, they have no occasion  
 “for the privacy of a wilderness.” Thus far Abbo.

## *SOUTHFOLK, or SUFFOLK.*



**S**UFFOLK (which is first to be describ'd) in Saxon South-  
 folc, i. e. a southern people with respect to Norfolk; has on the west, Cambridgehire; on the south, the river  
 Stour, which divides it from Essex; on the east, the Ger-  
 man ocean; and on the north, two little rivers, Ouse  
 the least, and Waveney. These two, flowing almost out  
 of the same fountain, run contrary ways, and divide it from Norfolk.  
 It is a country pretty large, and well stor'd with harbours; the soil  
 (except to the west) is very fat, as being a compound of clay and  
 marle. By this means, the fields are every where fruitful, and the  
 pastures exceeding good for fattening of cattle; not to mention the vast  
 improvement made in the estates of this county, by employing great  
 quantities of ground, in turnips. They make also vast numbers of  
 cheese, which, to the great advantage of the inhabitants, are carried  
 into all parts of England; nay, into Germany also, with France and  
 Spain, as Pantaleon Medicus has told us, who scruples not to compare  
 them with those of Placentia, both in colour and taste: But he was  
 not one of Apicius's nice-palated scholars. Nor do they want woods,

and parks; of the latter of which, several are join'd to noblemen's houses, and are well stock'd with deer.

The county, according to its political division, has been branch'd into three parts: The first call'd the Geldable, because it pays geld or tribute; the second, the liberty of St. Edmund, because it belong'd to his monastery; the third, the liberty of St. E. ~~Edred~~, because it belong'd to Ely-monastery; to which our kings formerly granted several parcels of ground with Sach and Soch (as the Ely-book expresses it) without any reserve either of ecclesiastical or secular jurisdiction.

But it is to be observ'd, as to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, that that was not usually granted, in those ancient times, by the kings, but by the popes; and, in fact, there appear not the least foot-step nor any preferences, of exemption from the ordinary jurisdiction of the bishop of Norwich, in any of the churches or estates belonging to the church of Ely in this county. The present general division, is, the franchise or liberty of St. Edmund, and the Geldable; the first containing the western part of the county, and the second the eastern: And these divisions are the more remarkable, because at the assizes each of them furnishes a distinct grand jury.

But now let us take a survey of the particulars; and beginning at the west, give an account of the more noted places.

On the west, where it joins Cambridgeshire, and in the very limits, lies Ixning, a place formerly of greater note than at present. For it was made eminent, first by the birth of E. ~~Edred~~ the virgin (daughter of king Anna) who was canoniz'd; then, by the conspiracy of Ralph earl of the East-Angles against William the conqueror; and lastly, by the way which Harvey, first bishop of Ely, made between this place and Ely. But now it goes to decay by the nearness of Newmarket, whither all commodities are carried in great abundance. That this town of Newmarket is of late date, the name it self witnesses. It is so situated, that the south part belongs to Cambridgeshire, and the north to Suffolk, each whereof has a small church of its own, the latter \* parochial and institutive; but the former belonging to Ditton, or Dichton, as the mother-church. I have met with nothing about it in my reading, but that under Henry III. Robert de Insula or Isle gave one half of it to Richard de Argenton (from whom the Alingtons are descended) in Frank-marriage with his daughter Cassandra.

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\* Belonging to Ixning, C.

The town hath not grown up by any manufacture, or particular commodity; but by the convenience for passengers and the advantage of the court. For it stands in a plain, very commodious for hunting and horse-races; which diversions very often draw the court thither. And on Cambridge side there is a house built on purpose for the reception of our kings.

All round, as we have hinted, is the large plains just now mention'd, call'd from the town New-market-heath, the soil whereof is sandy and barren, but the surface green. Along this, runs that wonderful ditch, which the vulgar (as if it had been drawn by the devil) call Devil-dike; whereas, it is plain, it was one of those, wherewith (as Abbo informs us) the inhabitants guarded themselves against the incursions of the enemy. But of this we will speak more at large, when we come to Cambridgeshire. Only, here let the reader note thus much, that the least of all these fosses or ditches is to be seen within two miles of this place, being drawn between Snailwell and Moulton.

More inward, is the famous St. Edmunds-bury, called in the Saxon age Bederics-gueord, and in the British (as it should seem) Villa Faustini; which is mentioned by Antoninus. For that was the opinion of Talbot, a very good antiquary, and particularly acquainted with this part of England; as being prebendary of the church of Norwich. The distances too in Antoninus, both from Ictani and Colonia, answer well enough; and as Villa among the Latins implied the house of a nobleman within his own grounds, so did gueord among the Saxons. For the above-mention'd Abbo interprets Bederics-gueord by *Bedrick's courtis*, or villa, i. e. Bederick's court, or his ville or farm. And the Saxons seem to have express'd the sense and meaning of the word, in their own language: For as Faustinus in Latin implies prosperity, so does Bederick in German; as the learned Hadrianus Junius has observed, where he interprets the name of Betorix (who, according to Strabo, was the son of Melo Sicamber) as if one should say, Full of happiness and favour. But if these two be different, I frankly confess my self ignorant, either who that Faustinus, or this Bedericus, was. One thing I am sure of, that this was not the Faustini Villa describ'd by Martial in the third book of his epigrams. And if I should say, that it was the Ville of that Bericus, who (as Dio observes) was driven out of Britain, and persuaded Claudius the emperor to make war upon the inhabitants; I should not believe my self. But whether this place was the Villa Faustini or not, it seems to have been very eminent, since at the first planting of Christianity in those parts, king Egbert

built a religious house here; and Abbo calls it a royal ville. But when the body of the most christian king Edmund (whom the Danes had barbarously rack'd and tortur'd to death) was translated hither, and a large church with a wonderful cover of wood was built in honour of him; then it began to be call'd St. Edmundsbury and, for shortness, Bury; and flourish'd exceedingly. But most of all after king Canutus (to expiate the sacrilegious violence done to this church by his father Sveno) built it a-new, very much enrich'd it, offer'd his own crown to the holy martyr, brought in the monks with their abbot, and bestow'd upon it many fair estates, and, among others, this town entire. Whereupon, the monks governed here and administer'd justice by their steward. For this reason, Joscelin de Brakeland, monk of the place, says: "The men, as well without the burrough as within, are ours. &c. and all within the Banna Leuca enjoy the same liberty." Afterwards, Hervey, an abbot of Norman descent, is said to have encompass'd it with a wall, some small remains whereof are still to be seen; but a person well versed in the antiquities of this place, affirms that there never was any such abbot as Hervey. Indeed, in abbot Anselm's time, there was a sacrist of that name in this monastery. The popes granted it very large immunities, and, among other things, that this place should not be in any thing subject to the bishop, but in lawful cases should obey the archbishop\*. But, ever since the reformation, it hath been under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Norwich: and it may be question'd whether the jurisdiction of the archbishop was provided for, in that manner, when the bishop's was given away, so long before the reformation; seeing the bulls of exemption belonging to this abbey are as much against the jurisdiction of the archbishop, as the bishop; and it appears, that when some of the archbishops, as legates, made attempts upon their privileges, the monks obtain'd other recripts, restraining the archbishops even under that character, and sub, jecting the abbey immediately to the court of Rome.

And now the monks abounding with wealth, built a stately new church, which they were continually enlarging. In the reign of Edward I. in laying the foundation of a new chapel, "there were found (as Everiden, monk of the place, has told us) the walls of an old round church; so built, that the altar had been about the middle; and we are of opinion (so he adds) that it is the very same which was built

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\* Which is observ'd to this day, C.

“ at first to the service of St. Edmund.” But what sort of town this is, and how large the monastery was while it stood, learn of Ieland, an eye-witness. “ A city more neatly seated the sun never saw, so curiously doth it hang upon a gentle descent, with a little river on the east side; nor a monastery more noble, whether one considers the endowments, largeness, or unparallel’d magnificence. One might think even the monastery alone, a city; so many gates it has (some whereof are brass,) so many towers, and a church, than which no thing can be more magnificent: As appendages to which, there are three more, of admirable beauty and workmanship, in the same church-yard.” Now, there are but two churches entire, St. Mary’s and St. James’s; and the vast ruins of a third, which was the great church in the monastery.

If you enquire after the extent of its wealth, it will be hard to give an account of the value of those gifts which were offer’d at the single tomb of St. Edmund; besides the rents and estates, to the yearly value of one thousand five hundred and sixty pounds. If I should particularly reckon up the quarrels that rose now and then between the inhabitants and monks (who by their steward govern’d the town,) and with what virulence they sought the destruction of each other, the strangeness of the relation would destroy its credit. But all this work, which had been so long in growing, and all that wealth, which had been so many years in getting, was destroy’d and dispers’d, upon the dissolution of monasteries by king Henry VIII. who was mov’d to that dissolution by a set of men that (under the specious pretence of reforming religion) prefer’d their own private interest and profit, before that of their prince and country, yea, and even before the glory of God. Yet the very carcass of its ancient greatness hath something of beauty, and the very ruins are splendid; which, when you see, you cannot but both admire and commiserate. And (to take notice of this by the way) if England ever suffer’d by the loss of any man, it was in this place. For that true father of his country, Humfrey duke of Glocester (a strict patron of justice, and one who had improv’d his excellent natural endowments by a course of severe studies,) after he had govern’d the kingdom under Henry VI. for twenty-five years together, with so great applause and commendation, that neither the good could find reason for complaint, nor the bad for calumnies; was cut off in this place by the malice of Margaret of Lorain: Who, observing her husband king Henry VI. to be of a low and narrow spirit, set about this villainous contrivance, to get the management of the government into her own hands. But in

the issue, it was the greatest misfortune that could have befallen either her or the kingdom. For Normandy and Aquitaine were presently lost upon it, and a most lamentable civil war rais'd in England.

The town is pleasantly situated, and is much resorted to by the gentry of these parts; and (to the great advantage and convenience of the inhabitants) an act of parliament pass'd in the reign of king William III. to make the river Lark navigable, as far as this place.

Near St. Edmundsbury, we see Great Welnetham, where, a few years since, were found, in digging, abundance of posherds and platters of Roman earth, some of which had inscriptions upon them; as also coals, bones of sheep, oxen, &c. with many horns, a sacrificing knife, and ashes and urns: And also Rushbrok, the seat of the famous and knightly family of the Jermins (advanced in the reign of king Charles I. to the title of barons, and in that of king Charles II. to the higher honour of earls;) and now the seat of Sir Robert Davers, bart. by marriage with one of the daughters of that family. At a little distance from thence, is Ickworth, where was an old priory founded by Gilbert Iland, a person of great honour, and lord of Ickworth: His issue male in the right line fail'd in William, slain in Henry III's time at the battle of Lewes; who left his two sisters, Agnes, wife of William de Crekerot, and Roisia, wife of Robert de Valonnis, his heirs. The other Ickworth or Ickworth, north-east from hence, is the seat of the Hervies, and gives title to John lord Hervey, created a baron of this realm by the title of lord Hervey of Ickworth, and afterwards advanced to the more honourable title of earl of Bristol. This is reckon'd before, among the places which still retain somewhat of the name of the looni. And what the late learned \* archdeacon of Canterbury observ'd, confirms the antiquity of the place, namely, that in his memory a large pot of Roman money had been found there. About Icklingham also, much of the same sort is discover'd; and it is said, that in digging through the devil's ditch on Newmarket-heath, near Ixning, they met with some ancient pieces. If they are still preserv'd, they might probably afford us some light who were the authors of that vast work. A late writer affirms, that they bore the inscriptions of divers Roman emperors; but upon what authority, I know not.

More to the north, is Fernham S. Genoves, memorable upon this account, that Richard Lucy, chief justice of England, did here engage

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\* Dr. Bartley.

Robert earl of Leicester in a pitch'd battle, and slew above ten thousand Flemings, whom he had invited over for the destruction of his country. In this neighbourhood, I observ'd two very remarkable castles built by the Kitsons, knights, at Hengrave, formerly the possession of Edmund de Hengrave a famous lawyer under Edward I. and the other at Culsforth, built by Sir Nicholas Bacon, kn. son of the great Lord Bacon, keeper of the great seal of England, who for his sagacity, wisdom, and judgment, was, whilst he liv'd, deservedly accounted one of the two supports of this kingdom; but it is now the seat of a noble family in Cornwallis. Not far from hence is Lidgate, a small village, but which I have omitted, because it gave birth to John Lidgate the monk, whose wit seems to have been form'd and modell'd by the very number of the beauties and elegancies of all kinds are so lively express'd in his mystical poetry. And these are the places of note on the west side of Suffolk.

To the south, the river Stour, immediately after its rise, enlarges itself into a great fen call'd Stourmere: But presently gathering its waters within the banks, it runs first by Clare, a noble village, which besides its castle, now demolish'd, gave the name of Clare to a very honourable family, descended from Gislebert a Norman earl; and the uncle of duke to Leonel, son of Edward III. who, having taken a wife out of this family, had the title of duke of Clarence bestow'd upon him by his father. For from this place he was call'd duke of Clarence (as, before, the posterity of Gislebert were still earls of Clare) and dying at Longuevill in Italy, after he had taken for his second wife the daughter of Galeacius, viscount of Milan, lies buried here in the collegiate church; as doth also Joanna de Acres, daughter of Edward I. wife to Gilbert the second de Clare who was earl of Gloucester. It is possible the reader may expect that I should here give an account of the earls of Clare and dukes of Clarence, considering they have always made an honourable figure in this kingdom; and I will do it in short, for fear any should seek it in vain. Richard, son of Gislebert earl of Ewe in Normandy, was a foldier under William the conqueror, when he came over into England, from whom he had the villages of Clare and Tunbridge. He had four sons, Gislebert, Roger, Walter, and Robert from whom the Fitz-Walters are descended. Gislebert, by the daughter of the earl of Clermont had Richard, who succeeded him, and Gislebert, from whom was descended the famous Richard earl of Pembroke, conqueror of Ireland; and Walter. Richard, the eldest, being slain by the Welsh, left two sons, Gilbert and Roger. Gilbert, under king Stephen, was earl of Hertford; notwithstanding which, both

Both he and his successors, from this their chief seat, were commonly called, and wrote themselves, de Clare. He dying without issue was succeeded by his brother Roger, whose son Richard married Amicia, daughter and coheir of William earl of Gloucester; and, in her right, his posterity were earls of Gloucester; whom you may find in their proper place. But at last, upon default of heir male, Leonel, third son of Edward III. (who had married Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir of William de Burgo earl of Ulster by Elizabeth Clare) was honoured by his father with the new title of duke of Clarence. But he having one only daughter called Philippa, wife of Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, and no issue male; king Henry IV. created his younger son Thomas duke of Clarence, who was governor of Normandy, and, in an engagement of the Scots and French, was slain in Anjou, leaving no issue behind him. A considerable time after, Edward IV. conferred this honour upon George his brother, whom, after bitter quarrels and a most inveterate hatred, he had receiv'd into favour: Yet for all that, he at length dispatch'd him in prison, ordering him to be drown'd (as the report commonly goes) in a butt or malmesey. Thus is it in the nature of man, to hate for ever those they fear and those they contend with to such degrees of violence; even though they be brethren. In place hath of later days given the title of earl to Sir John Hollar, and Houghton of Houghton, advanced to this dignity November 2, 1611. He was succeeded by John his son, and Gilbert his grandson, whose eldest son John, by the favour of king William III. enjoy'd the dignity under the title of marquess of Clare. Not far from Clare, is Honiton, where, in the year 1687, the sexton (digging a grave in the church-yard) met with a great quantity of Saxon coins.

From Clare, the Stour runs by Long-Melford, a beautiful hospital lately built by that excellent person Sir William Cordall, knt. master of the rolls; to Sudbury, i. e. the southern burrough, which it almost encompasses. The common opinion is, that this was once the chief town of the county, and that it had the name given it with respect to Norwich, i. e. the northern village. And indeed, at this day it has no reason to give place to any of its neighbours. For it has not only the re-eminence of giving title to one of the two archdeacons of the county, and is the first in place; but is populous, and thrives exceedingly by the cloathing trade: Its chief magistrate also is a mayor, who

\* So said, ann. 1607.

is annually chosen out of the seven aldermen. In the fourth year of queen Anne, a statute pass'd in parliament, to make the river navigable from the town of Manningtree to this place. Not far from hence is Iwerston, a place of no great note at present, but, formerly, it had lords of great honour its inhabitants, call'd de Monte Canile, and commonly Mont-chenly. Of which family, Guarin married the daughter and coheir of that most powerful earl of Pembroke, William Marshal, and had by her a daughter, Joanna, who brought to her husband William de Valentia, of the family of Lusigny in France, the true earl of Pembroke. This Guarin Mont-chenly, as he had great honours, so likewise had he a very plentiful fortune; in such that in those times he was call'd the crassus of England, his estate amounting to above two hundred thousand marks. Not far from hence, upon the river Stour, is Burs, the place where king Edmund was crown'd, as Galfredus de Pontibus tells us. His words are these: "Being unanimously approved, they brought him to Suffolk, and, in the villing called Burum, made him king; the venerable prelate Humbert assisting, and anointing and consecrating Edmund to be king. Now, Burum is an ancient royal vill, the known bound between East-Suffolk and Suffolk, and situate upon the Stour, a river most rapid both in summer and winter." Which passage is the more observable, because it shews what we are to understand by Burva in Asserius's life of Alfred. That it is not Bury, as the chronicle under Bromton's name surpises nor yet Burne in Lincolnshire, as hath been asserted; but this Burs or Burs, as Matthew Westminster calls it. This Galfred, to whom we owe the discovery, wrote before the year 1156.

A few miles from hence, the Stour is increased by the little river Breton, which within a small space runs by two towns of antiquity. At the head of it, we see Bretenham, a little inconsiderable town, without any appearance almost of a city: And yet that it is the Combretonium mention'd by Antoninus in those parts, is evident, both from the sound and signification of the name. For as Bretenham in English implies town or mansion upon the Breton; so does Combretonium, in Welsh, valley or low place upon the Breton. But this, in the Peutingerian tables, is falsely call'd Comvetronum and Ad Covecin. A little way from hence to the east, is Nettlesford, from whence came the Wenworths, whom king Henry VIII. honour'd with the dignity of barons: And neighbour to it is Offton, i. e. the town of Offa king of the Mercians, where, upon a chalky hill, lie the ruins of an old castle, which they tell you was built by king Offa, after he had villainously cut off Ethe-

bert king of the East-Angles, and seiz'd his kingdom. Below this, is Hadley, in Saxon Headlege, famous at this day for making of woollen cloaths; but mention'd by our ancient historians on account of Guthrum or Gormo, the Dane's, being buried here. For when Alfred had brought him to such terms, that he embrac'd Christianity, and was baptiz'd, he assign'd him this tract of the East-Angles, "that he might (to use the words of my author) by a due allegiance to the king, protect those countries as his own inheritance, which he had before over-run with ravage and plunder."

From hence, the Breton runs into the Stour; whose united streams flowing not far from Bentley, where the Talmaches, a famous and ancient family, flourish'd a long time; do in a few miles run near Awereton, formerly the seat of the famous family of the Bacons; now of the Parkers, who by the father are descended from the barons Morley, and by the mother from the Calthrops, a very eminent family. Then they flow into the ocean; and the river Orwell, or Gipping, joining them just at the mouth, discharges it self along with them.

This rises in the very middle of the county, out of two springs, one near Wulpett, the other at a little village call'd Gipping. Wulpett is a market-town, and signifies in Latin Luporum fossa, i. e. a den of wolves, if we believe Neubrigenis, who has patch'd up as formal a story about this place, as is the true narration of Lucian: Namely, how two little green boys, of the satyr kind, after a long and tedious wandering through subterraneous caverns from another world (i. e. from the antipodes, and the land of St. Martin) at last came up here. If you would have the particulars of the story, I refer you to the author himself, who will tell you a set of the most ridiculous stories you ever heard or read. From the foresaid derivation of Wulpett, and the British Cidwm, signifying also a den of wolves, the late \* learned annotator chooses rather to place the ancient Sitomagus here, than at Thetford; alledging moreover, that the numbers are better reconciled to this place, than to Thetford; and that here are large and deep dirches, which he conjectures to have been the work of the Romans. I know not whether I should here take notice, into what vain and groundless hopes of finding gold at Norton hard by, king Henry VIII. was drawn, by a credulous kind of avarice. But the diggings there speak for me. Between the Gipping and Wulpett, on a high hill, are the remains of

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\* Dr. Gale.

an old castle call'd Hawghlee, in compass about two acres. Some will have this to have been call'd Hagoneth-castle, which belong'd to Ralph de Broc, and was, in the year 1173, taken and demolished by Robert earl of Leicester.

Upon the same river, are seen Stow and Needham, small market-towns; and not far from the bank, Hemington, wherein Baldwin le Petteur (observe the name) "held lands by serjeanty (thus an ancient "book expresses it,) for which he was oblig'd every Christmas-day to "perform before our lord the king of England, one saltus, one fustlus, "tus, and one bumbulus;" or, as it is read in another place, he held it "by a saltus, a fustlus, and pettus:" That is (if I apprehend it aright) he was to dance, make a noise with his cheeks, and to let a fart. Such was the plain jolly mirth of those days. It is also observ'd, that the manor of Langhall belong'd to this fee. Nearer the mouth, I saw Ipswich, formerly Gippewich, in Saxon Gypesric, a little city, and of a low situation; but as it were the eye of this county. It has a pretty commodious harbour, has been fortified with a ditch and rampire, has a \* great trade, and is very populous; † having been adorn'd with || fourteen churches, twelve whereof do still remain, with St. George's chapel, and the ruins of a parish-church now decay'd,) and also with large stately private buildings. I pass by the four religious houses, now demolish'd: It is said, they shew the ruins of six or seven; one whereof, viz. Christ-church, is converted into a mansion-house; another is employ'd for a place of judicature, with a gaol, where the quarter-sessions are held for Ipswich division; and another is made a free-school (with an hospital,) having also the conveniency of a very good library. I also pass by the magnificent college begun by cardinal Wolsey, a butcher's son, and born in this place; whose vast thoughts were always fill'd with extravagant projects and designs. The body politic of it (as I have been told) consists of twelve burgesses (whom they call portmen;) and out of them two bailiffs are annually chosen for the chief magistrates, and as many justices out of twenty-four more. As to its antiquity, as far as my observation has carried me, we hear nothing of the name, before the Danish invasion, which it sufficiently felt. In the year of our Lord 991, the Danes plunder'd this place, and the whole coast, with such cruelty and barbarity, that Sigericius archbishop of Canterbury, and the nobility of England, thought

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\* See below.

† Being, C.

|| So said, ann. 1607.

it most adviseable to purchase a peace of them with ten thousand pounds. But for all that, before nine years were at an end, they plunder'd this town a second time: Whereupon, the English presently engag'd them with great resolution; but (as Henry of Huntingdon has it) by the cowardice of one single person, Turkil by name, our men were put to flight, and the victory as it were dropp'd out of our hands. Thus, do very small accidents give strange turns to the events of war. In Edward the confessor's reign (as we find in Domesday book) 'queen Edeva had two parts of this town, and earl Guert a third; and there were in it eight hundred burgesses who paid custom "to the king." But when the Normans had possess'd themselves of England, they built a castle here; which Hugh Bigod held, for some time, against Stephen the usurping king of England; but at last surrendered it. Now it is so entirely gone, that there is not left so much as the rubbish of it. Some are of opinion, that it stood in the adjoining parish of Westerfeld, where appear the remains of a castle, and tell you, that this was also the site of old Gippwic. I fancy it was demolish'd, when Henry II. levell'd Waleton, a neighbouring castle, with the ground. For this was a harbour for the rebels; and here the three thousand Flemings landed, who were invited over by the nobility to assist against him, when he fell into that unlucky design of making his son Henry an equal sharer with him in the government; and when the young man (who knew not how to stand so high without running headlong,) out of a furious desire of reigning, declar'd a most unnatural war against his own father. Though these castles are now quite gone, the shore is very well defended by a vast ridge (they call it Langerston) which, for about two miles, lies on the surface of the sea (as one words it,) not without great danger and terror to sailors. It is however of use to the fishermen, for drying of their fish; and does also, in some measure, guard the spacious harbour of Orwell. But as to Ipswich it self, its trade, depending upon the sea, hath in this and the last age receiv'd so much damage, that the number of their ships is very considerably diminish'd. And thus much of the south part of this country.

From hence a crooked shore (for all this eastern part lies upon the sea) running northward, presently opens it self to the little river \* Deben. It rises near Rendletham, to which the lord of the place,

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\* Others call it Thredling.

II. Fitz-Gtho, or the son of Otho the mint-master, procur'd the privilege of a market and fair of Edward I. By his heirs, a considerable estate came to the Boutetorts, lords of Wily in Worcestershire; and from them afterwards, in the reign of Richard II. to Frevil, Eurnel, and others. It is said, that in digging here, about thirty years since, there was found an ancient silver crown, weighing about sixty ounces, which was thought to belong to Redwald, or some other king of the East-Angles; but it was sold, and melted down. From hence the river Deben continues its course, and gives name to Debenham, a small market-town, which others will have to be more rightly call'd Depenham; because, the soil being moist and clayey, the roads all round it are deep and troublesome; though the burrough it self is clean. In this town, was the seat of the Gawdies, an ancient and knightly family, from whom it hath lately pass'd by sale, and is now the seat of the Pitts. From thence, the river passeth, through Letheringham, by a priory founded there by Sir John Boynet, knt. now the seat of the Nauntons, which family came over with the conqueror, and gave name to a manour in the neighbourhood, call'd to this day Naunten-hall. And in this priory-church (now used for the parochial) are several stately monuments erected to perpetuate the memory of the Nauntons, Bovies, and Wingfields, &c. Then the stream directs its course to Wickham, where was anciently a market, but it is now lost. The town however is still as big as many markets, and in it the spiritual courts are holden for the archdeaconry of Suffolk. From thence it runs by Ufford, formerly the seat of Robert de Ufford earl of Suffolk; and on the opposite bank is Rendilis-ham, i. e. as Bede interprets it, the home or mansion of Rendilus, where Redwald king of the East-Angles commonly kept his court. He was the first of all that people who was baptiz'd and receiv'd Christianity; but afterwards, being seduc'd by his wife, "he had (as Bede expresses it) in the self-same church, one altar "for the religion of Christ, and another little altar for the sacrifices to "devils." Suidhelmus also, king of the East-Angles, was afterwards baptiz'd in this place by Cedda the bishop.

From hence, the river Deben runs to Woodbridge, a little town beautified with neat buildings, where at certain set-times is the meeting for the liberty of St. Etheldred; and, after a course of few miles, the river is receiv'd by the sea at Pawdsey haven.

Then the shore by little and little goes more easterly, to the mouth of the river Ore; which runs by Framlingham, formerly a castle of the Bigods; being given by king Henry I. to Roger Bigod; and presently

on the west side thereof it spreads it self into a sort of lake. This hath been a very beautiful castle of Saxon work, fortified with a rampire and \* two large ditches, and a wall of great thickness with thirteen towers: Within, it † has had very convenient lodgings; most of which are now pulled down; and yet still the place looks more like a castle, than the ruins of one. From hence it was, that, in the year of our Lord 1173, when the rebellious son of king Henry II. took up arms against his father, Robert earl of Leicester with his stipendaries from Flanders, harraisd the country all round; being invited thither by Hugh Bigod. But Roger Bigod, the last of this family, and a man more turbulent than any of his predecessors, was forced to resign the castle to king Edward I. and king Edward II. gave it to his half-brother Thomas of Brotherton, from whom it descended to the Mowbrays, and from them to the Howards dukes of Norfolk, who generally resided here. From whence also it was, that, in the year 1553, queen Mary enter'd upon the government, notwithstanding the violent opposition of Dudley earl of Northumberland against the daughters of king Henry VIII. But king James I. granted this castle to Thomas Howard, earl of Suffolk, and then (Audley-Inn being made his seat) the glory of this place was thereby eclipsed, and his son Theophilus earl of Suffolk sold it to Sir Robert Hitcham, knt. who devised the same, with a considerable estate in Framlingham, and Saxted, to the master and fellows of Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, for charitable uses. But the chiefest ornament of this town is the church, built by the Mowbrays, and the chancel, by the Howards, wherein are several stately monuments of this noble family. And adjoining to it, are two alms-houses, one built by the master and fellows of Pembroke-hall, the other by Thomas Milles, and both well endowed. The river goes next to Parham, a little town, whose lord, William Willoughby, had the dignity of a baron conferred on him by king Edward VI. and from thence, running by Glemham, which gave name to an ancient and noted family; to Oreford, which takes its name from it; it falls into the sea. This was once a large and populous town, fortified with a castle of reddish stone, which formerly belong'd to the Valoines, and afterward to the Willoughbies. But now it has reason to complain of the ingratitude of the sea, which withdraws it self by little and little, and ‡ begins to deny it the advantage of a harbour. It hath been honour'd, of late,

\* A ditch, C.

† Hath, C.

‡ So said, ann. 1607.

by giving the title of earl, to Edward Russel (son of Edward Russel, fourth son of Francis earl of Bedford,) who, in consideration of his most signal services by sea (particularly in the year 1692, when the English fleet, under his command, gave a total overthrow to that of the French;) was created by king William, baron of Shingey, viscount Barseur, and earl of Orford. And this is all I have to say of Orford, unless you please to run over this short passage of Ralph de Coggeshall, an ancient writer. "In the time of Henry I. when Bartholomew de Glanville was governor of the castle of Orford, some fishermen happened to catch a wild man in their nets. All the parts of his body resembled those of a man; he had hair on his head, and a long pickled beard; and, about the breast, was exceeding hairy and rough. But at length he made his escape privately into the sea, and was never seen more." So that the common assertion may be very true, that whatever is produc'd in any part of nature, is also in the sea; and that not at all fabulous, which Pliny has written about the Triton on the coasts of Portugal, and the Sea-man in the straits of Gibraltar.

Opposite to Orford, on the west side of a small river, stands Butley, where a priory was founded by Ralph Glanville, chief justice of England; and in the church belonging thereto, was interr'd Michael de la Pole, the third of that name who was lord Wingfield and earl of Suffolk, and was slain in the battle at Agin-Court.

Not much higher, in a safe and pleasant situation, within the vale of Slaughden, where the sea beats upon it on the east, and the river on the west, lies Aldburgh, which signifies an ancient burrough, or, as others will have it, a burrough upon the river Ald. It is a harbour pretty commodious for sailors and fishermen; by which means the place is populous, and much favour'd by the sea, which is a little unkind to other towns upon this coast. Hard by, when, in the year 1555, all the corn throughout England was blasted, the inhabitants tell you, that in the beginning of autumn there grew pease, miraculously, among the rocks without any earth about them, and that they reliev'd the dearth in those parts. But the more thinking people affirm, that pulse cast upon the shore by shipwreck, us'd to grow there now and then; and so the miracle is lost. But that such as these grew every year among the pebbles on the coast of Kent, we have observ'd before; and a later writer saith, that at the south part of the Meer-Shingle, there still come yearly certain coarse grey pease, and very good coleworts, out of the stony heaps.

From hence, keeping along the shore, at ten miles distance we meet with Dunwich, in Saxon Dunmoc, mention'd by Bede, and of most nearly note, of any town in this county; Eury (though more considerable) having not its reputation, till a long time after. Here, Feelix the Burgundian, who reduced the East-Angles (then about to fall from the faith,) fix'd an episcopal see in the year 630; and his successors for many years presided over the whole kingdom of the East-Angles. But Eadric, the fourth from Feelix, when by reason of old age and a broken constitution, he found himself unable to manage so large a province, divided it into two sees. One he kept in this place, and fix'd the other at a little town call'd North-Elmham. This Dunwich, I am satisfied, is the same that the Saxon annals call Domuc, and Bede Dommoc; answerable to which, in king Alfred's translation it is Dommoc-ceaster. The circumstances make the conjecture very probable; for Alfhun, who is said to have been buried there Anno 799, is likewise said to have died at Sudberi, that is, Sudbury in this county. And where can we imagine the bishop should be buried, but at his own see, and in his own church? In another place of Bede, we meet with Dunmoc, which as it is undoubtedly Dunwich, so it differs not much from Domuc or Dommoc. And it is probable, that this place is yet more ancient; inasmuch as Roman coins, among others, are sometimes found here; from whence we may probably infer, that it was a station of that people. In the reign of William I. it had two hundred and thirty-six burgesses, and one hundred poor: It was valued at fifty pounds, and sixty thousand herrings by gift: So we read in Domesday-book. In the \* last age, it was very populous, and fam'd for its mint; and in the reign of Henry II. "it was (as William of Newburrow has told us) a famous village, well stor'd with riches of all sorts." At which time, when the peace of England was disturb'd with fresh commotions, it was fortified, on purpose to awe Robert earl of Leicester, who insulted and over-ran all those parts; and there is still a square'ditch-bank, or town-wall. But now by a private pique of nature (which has set no fixed bounds to the incursions of the sea) the greatest part of it is swept away by the violence of the waves; and, the bishops having many years ago transferr'd their see to another place, it lies in solitude and desolation. Upon enquiry after the state of this place, Sir Henry Spelman (as we find by a posthumous paper) was inform'd by one of

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\* So said, ann. 1557.

the inhabitants, that by report there had been fifty churches in Dunwich, and that the foundations and church-yards of St. Michael, St. Mary, St. Martin, and St. John's, were then to be seen, besides St. Peter and St. Nicholas, with a chapel. But what number sever they formerly had, the sea hath gained so much hereabouts, that all the churches are now swallow'd up, except All-Saints; one, particularly, having fallen into the sea, within these few years.

A little higher, the river Blith discharges it self into the sea; upon whose bank I saw a small town call'd Blithborow, memorable only for the burying-place of the Christian king Anna, whom Penda the Mercian slew in a pitch'd battle. For this place, how mean soever at present, seems to have been very ancient; as a testimony of which, not many years ago there were several Roman urns dug up among old buildings; and (besides the termination burh, which is one mark of antiquity) in the Saxon and following ages, it was of good note, as were most other places that the Romans had left. Which appears, in part, from its having the gaol for the division of Beckles; an evidence that the sessions have been formerly kept here. The church became eminent for a college of prebendaries founded by Henry I. who granted it to the canons of St. Osith. It has a market by the favour of John lord Clavering; to whom king Edward II. granted that privilege, with a fair. He was possess'd of a very large estate in those parts; as descended from the daughter and heir of William de Cassinero or Cheney, who held the barony of Horsford in the county of Norfolk, and built a small monastery at Sibton.

Here the promontory Easton-ness shoots a great way into the sea eastward, so that it is look'd upon by some to be further east, than any other part of Britain; but the seamen tell you, that the most easterly part is at Lowestoft. By Ptolemy, Easton-ness is call'd *exocke*, or extension: And, to put it beyond all doubt that this is the same with our Easton, Eystney is the same in British, that *exocke* is in Greek, and *extensio* in Latin; though, indeed, the name might as probably be derived from our own language, with regard to the easterly situation of the place. On the south part of this promontory, Southwold lies in a plain, low and open, and expos'd to the sea; which the convenience of the harbour, made by the river Blith's emptying it self there, has render'd a pretty populous town. At high-water, it is so encompass'd with the sea, that you would take it for an island, and wonder that it is not all overflow'd. Which brings to my mind that passage of Cicero; "What shall we say of the tides in Spain and Britain, and their ebbs and  
"and

and flowing at set-times? Without a God they cannot be; a God, who hath set bounds to the sea." More inward, we see Wingfield (with its half-ruinated castle) which gave both name and seat to a numerous family in those parts, famous for their knighthood and antiquity. And Dunnington, which boasts of its lord, John Philipps, father of that William who married the daughter and heir of baron Baroloph, and whose daughter and heir was married to John viscount Beaumont. But now, it is the seat of the ancient family of the Reules. Not far from hence is Huntingfield, which, in the reign of Edward III. had a noted baron of that name: And near this, Heveningham, the seat of the knightly family de Heveningham, which is exceeding ancient, but never prosper'd (as the observation hath run) since one of them was upon the jury of king Charles I. The family is now extinct, and the estate pass'd, by sale, to another hand. At a little distance from thence, is Halesworth, formerly Healsworda, an ancient town of the Argentons, and afterwards of the Alingtons, by whom it hath been lately sold; and for which Richard Argenton procur'd the privilege of market of king Henry III.

On the north part (as hath been already said) two little rivers, namely, Ouse the less, and Waveney, divide this county from Norfolk. They both rise out of a marshy ground about Lophamford, very near one to the other; and run quite contrary ways, with creeks full of shallow fords. On this side of the Ouse (which goes westward) there is nothing memorable, but Euston, formerly belonging to a family of that name. It is seated on a flat, and in a fair pleasant champian country; which induced the earl of Arlington to raise a noble structure here, call'd by the name of Euston-hall; adorn'd with a large nursery containing great quantities of fruit-trees of several sorts, with artificial mountains, a canal, a pleasant grove, a large warren, &c. It gave the title of earl to Henry Fitz-Roy, created August 16, 1672. baron of Sudbury, viscount Ipswich, and earl of Euston, upon his marriage with the only daughter of the earl of Arlington; and the same person was afterwards, September 11. 1675. created duke of Grafton.

Upon Ouse also, another town is Downham, which, with the neighbourhood, hath suffer'd greatly, and had vast quantities of land cover'd, by the blowing in of sands, in an incredible manner, and by their resting there. And near it, is Brandon, from which place the dukes of Hamilton take also the title of duke of Brandon, which was confer'd on James, the late duke, by her late majesty queen Anne.

Upon Waveney, which runs eastward, we first meet with Hoxon formerly Hegilsdon, made famous by the martyrdom of king Edmund. For there, this most Christian king, because he would not renounce Christ, was by the most inhuman Danes (to use the words of Abbot) "bound to a tree, and had his body all over mangled with arrows." And they, to increase the pain and torture, did, with showers of arrows, make wound upon wound, till the darts gave place to one another." And as a middle-aged poet has sung of him:

*Fam loca vulneribus defunt, nec dum furiosis  
Tela, sed kyberna grandine plura volant,*

Now wounds repeated left no room for new,  
Yet impious foes still more relentless grew,  
And still like winter hail their pointed arrows flew.

In which place was afterwards a very beautiful seat of the bishops of Norwich, till they exchanged it for the monastery of St. Benedict. In the neighbourhood, at Brome, the knightly family of Cornwallys dwelt a long time; of which, John was steward of the household to king Edward VI. and Thomas his son, for his great wisdom and fidelity, was made privy-councillor to queen Mary, and comptroller of her household; and Frederick his grandson, for his signal services to king Charles, was advanced to the dignity of a baron, by the title of lord Cornwallys of Eye. For, below Brome is Eay, or Eye, that is, the island, because it is water'd on all sides; where are seen the rubbish, ruins, and the decaying walls of a monastery dedicated to St. Peter, and of an old castle which belong'd to Robert Mallet, a Norman baron. But when he was depriv'd of his dignity under Henry I. for siding with Robert duke of Normandy against that king, this honour was bestow'd upon Stephen, count of Bologne; who (afterwards usurping the crown of England,) left it to his son William, earl of Waren. But after he had lost his life in the expedition of Tholose, the kings kept it in their own hands, till Richard I. gave it to Henry, the fifth of that name, duke of Brabant and Lorain, with the grandchild of king Stephen by a daughter (who had been a nun). A long time after, when it return'd to the kings of England, Edward III. (as I have heard) gave it to Robert Ufford, earl of Suffolk. Nor must we pass by Bedingfield in the neighbourhood, which gave name to a famous and ancient family, that receiv'd much honour by the heir of the family of Tudenham. From thence

hence, along by Flixton, for Felixton (so nam'd, among many other places in this county, from Fœlix the first bishop) the river Waveney runs to Bungey, and almost encompasses it. Here Hugh Bigod, when the seditious barons set all England in a flame, fortified a castle; to the strength whereof nature very much contributed. Of which he was wont to boast, as if it were impregnable,

Were I in my castle of Bungey  
Upon the river of Waveney,  
I would ne care for the king of Cockeney

Notwithstanding which, he was afterwards forced to compound with Henry II. by a great sum of money and hostages, to save it from being demolish'd. Next, not far from the banks, we meet with Mettingham, where, on a plain, a square castle with a college in it was built by the lord of the place, John, surnam'd de Norwich; whose daughter, afterwards heir of the family, was married to Robert de Ufford, earl of Suffolk, to whom she brought a fair estate.

Now the Waveney drawing nearer the ocean, while it tries in vain to break a double passage into it (one, with the river Yare, the other through the lake Luthing,) makes a pretty large peninsula, call'd by some Lovingland but by others more truly Luthingland; from that long and spacious lake Luthing; which, beginning at the sea side, empties it self into the river Yare. At the entrance into this, Lestoffe, a little town, hangs (as it were) over the sea; and, at the other end of it, is Gorleston, where I saw the tower of a small ruined religious house, which is of some use to the sea-men. More inward, upon the Yare, there is Somerley, formerly (as I was told) the seat of the Fitz-Osberts, from whom it came to the knightly and famous family of the Berneganes, then to the Garnishes, and from them to the Allens. Higher up, where the Yare and Waveney join, stood Cnobersburg, i. e. (as Bede interprets it) the city of Cnobærus: We call it at this day Burgheastell. "Which (as Bede has it) by the vicinity of woods and sea, was a very pleasant castle, wherein a monastery was built by Burglaus the Scot." By his persuasions, Sigebert king of the East-Saxons, was induced to quit the throne, and betake himself to a monastick life; and afterwards, being drawn against his will out of this monastery, as is said, to head his own men in battle against the Mercians, he was cut off with all his company. But Thomas Eliensis names Bury or Bêtriches-woorde, as the place, in which Sigebert betook himself to a monastick

life. And the same appears, not only by the \* *Monasticon*, and Caius  
 † *Antiquities of Cambridge*, but also by several manuscript testimonies  
 collected by the learned Dr. Battley. They have a tradition, that the  
 monastery there was afterwards inhabited by Jews; and an old way  
 leading to the entrance, call'd the Jews way, may seem to give it some  
 colour of truth. Now there is nothing in the place but broken wall  
 almost square, built of flints and British brick (a). It is quite over-  
 grown with briars and thorns; amongst which they now and then dig  
 up Roman coins: So that it seems to have been one of those towers  
 which the Romans built upon the river *Garicenis* against the Saxon in-  
 vasions; or rather, indeed, the very *Garianonum*, where the *Stabularia*  
 horse had their station; if the rivers and marshy grounds round it may  
 be suppos'd so fit to fix a station in. Ralph, the son of Reger de Burgh  
 held this castle by fergeanty, and after him Gilbert de Weseham; but  
 at last when it was surrender'd into the hands of Henry III. he (April  
 20, in the twentieth year of his reign) gave it, with all the appurtenan-  
 ces, to the monastery of *Bromholmes*.

Suffolk hath had earls and dukes, of several families. There are some  
 modern authors, who tell us that the *Glanvils* were formerly honour'd  
 with that title: But since they build upon no sure authority, and the  
 mistake is also obvious, nor does any thing like it appear in the public  
 records; they must excuse me if I suspend my assent, till they offer some  
 better arguments for my conviction. Not but I own, the family of the  
*Glanvils* made a very great figure in these parts. But before Edward  
 III's time, I could never yet find it vouch'd by good authority, that any  
 one was honour'd with the title of earl of this county. That king  
 made Robert de Ufford (a person fam'd for great exploits both at home  
 and abroad, and son of Robert, steward of the king's house under E-

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\* Vol. I. p. 291.

† P. 74.

(a) These bricks are nigh a foot and half in length, and almost a foot in breadth; and so do agree pretty exactly with the account of Roman bricks given by *Vitruvius*, and (as I find him) by *Pliny*. The wall of the castle looking to the east, remains still in its full length being about 220 yards; the height about 17 or 18 foot, with 4 round towers, each about 14 foot diameter, and of equal height with the wall.

These towers are join'd with the wall: But yet jut out so far beyond it, that only a small part of the periphery is within: They are not hollow within, but solid. At north and south, are two other walls, now not above one hundred and twenty yards in length, the rest being laid in rubbish; as is also the west wall towards the river, if there ever was any. For it is possible, the steepness of the hill, and a morass below; next the river, might have thought a sufficient security on that side.

ward II. by Cecilia de Valoniis lady of Orford) earl of Suffolk. To him succeeded his son William, whose four sons were snatch'd away by untimely deaths during his life; and himself, as he was going to report a resolution of the commons in parliament, fell down dead. Robert Willoughby, Roger lord of Scales, and Henry de Ferrariis of Grooby, as next heirs at law, divided the estate. And Richard II. advanced Michael de la Pole, from a merchant, to this honour, and to the dignity of lord chancellor of England. "Who (as Thomas Walsingham tells us) was better vers'd in merchandise (as a merchant himself, and the son of a merchant,) than in martial affairs." For he was son of William de la Pole, the first mayor of Kingston upon Hull, who, on account of his great wealth, had the dignity of a baneret conferr'd upon him by Edward III. But wanting a mind fit to bear such a flow of prosperity, he was forced to quit his country, and died in banishment. However, his being a merchant does by no means detract from his honour: For who knows not, that even the sons of noblemen have been merchants? Nor will I deny, that he was nobly descended, tho' a merchant. Michael his son being restor'd, had a son Michael, slain in the battle of Agincourt; and another, William, whom Henry VI. from earl of Suffolk, first advanced to be marquiss of Suffolk, to him and the heirs male of his body; that he and the heirs male of his body, on the coronation-day of the kings of England, do carry a golden verge with a dove on the top of it; and such another verge of ivory at the coronation of the queens of England. Afterwards, he advanced the same person, for his great merits, to the honour and title of duke of Suffolk. And indeed he was a person truly great and eminent: For when his father and three brothers had lost their lives for their country, in the French wars, he (as we read in the parliament-rolls of the 28th of Henry VI.) spent thirty-four whole years in the same war. For seventeen years together, he never came home; once he was taken, while but a knight, and paid twenty thousand pounds sterling for his ransom. Fifteen years he was privy-councillor, and knight of the garter thirty. By this means, as he gained the entire favour of his prince, so did he raise the envy of the people; and so, for some slight misdemeanours, and those too not plainly prov'd upon him, he was banish'd, and, in his passage into France, was intercepted by his enemies, and beheaded. He left a son, John, who married Edward IV's sister and had by her John earl of Lincoln. This earl John, being declar'd heir apparent to the crown by Richard III. could not bridle his ambition but presently broke out against king Henry VII. to his own destruction (for he was quickly

quickly cut off in the civil war;) and to his father's ruin also, who died of grief; and lastly, to the ruin of the whole family, which expired with him. For his brother Edmund, flil'd earl of Suffolk, making his escape into Flanders, began a rebellion against king Henry VII. who, better pleas'd with repentance than punishment, had before pardoned him for some very heinous crimes. But a little after, he was by Philip of Austria, duke of Burgundy (against the laws of hospitality, as the cry then run) deliver'd up to Henry, who solemnly promised him his life, but put him in prison. Henry VIII. not thinking himself oblig'd by this promise of his father, when he had thoughts of going for France, cut him off, for fear of insurrections in his absence. But Richard, his younger brother, living under banishment in France, us'd the title of duke of Suffolk; who was the last male of the family that I know of, and died bravely in the midst of the enemy's troops Anno 1524, in the battle of Pavia, wherein Francis I. king of France, was taken prisoner. In respect to his great valour, his very enemy, the duke of Bourbon, bestow'd on him a splendid funeral, and was himself one of the mourners. Afterwards, king Henry VIII. conferr'd the title of duke of Suffolk upon Charles Brandon, to whom he had given Mary his sister (widow of Lewis XII. king of France) in marriage. He was succeeded by his young son Henry, and Henry by his brother Charles; but both dying of the sweating-sickness in the year 1551, Edward VI. dignified Henry Grey, marquiss of Dorchester (who had married Frances their sister) with that title. But he did not enjoy it long, before he was beheaded by queen Mary, for endeavouring to advance his daughter to the throne; and was the last duke of Suffolk. From that time the title of Suffolk lay dead, till \* very lately king James I. in the first year of his reign, created Thomas lord Howard of Walden (second son of Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk) earl of Suffolk; whom, for his approv'd fidelity and valour, he had before made lord chamberlain. Thomas was succeeded by his son and heir Theophilus, who in his father's life-time bore the title of lord Howard of Walden; and dying June 3, 1640 left this honour to James his son and heir; to whom succeeded George his brother, and then Henry, brother to the two last; whose son, Henry, created earl of Bindon and baron of Chesterford in the life-time of his father, became also earl of Suffolk, and was succeeded by Charles, his son and heir, the present earl.

There are in this county 575 parish churches.

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\* So said, ann. 1607.

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More rare PLANTS growing wild in *Suffolk*.

*Agrofolium baccis luteis nondum descriptum* P. B. Yellow-berried holly. At Wiston in this county, not far from Buers.

*Carduus tomentosus corona fratrum* Park. *eriocephalus* Ger. Woolly-headed thistle. Near Clare in Suffolk plentifully.

*Caucalis tenuifolia flosculis subrubentibus* Hist. *nost. arvensis echinata parviflora* C. B. Fine-leav'd bastard parsley with a small purplish flower. Amongst the corn here at Notley, and in many other places.

*Critheum chrysanthemum* Park. Ger. *maritimum flore Asteris Attici* C. B. *marinum tertium Matthioli, flore luteo Bupkthalmi* J. B. Golden-flower'd samfire. On the bank of the river just above Fulbridge at Maldon in Essex.

*Lychnis viscosa flore muscosa* C. B. *Sesamoides Salamanticum magnum* Ger. *Muscipula Salmantica major* Park. *Muscipula muscosa flore seu Ocymoides Belliforme* J. B. Spanish catchfly. In and about the gravel pits on the north side of Newmarket town; also by the way sides all along from Barton mills to Thetford in Norfolk.

*Militaris Aizoides* Ger. *Stratiotes s. Militaris Aizoides* Park. *Aloe palustris* C. B. *Aizoon palustre sive Aloe palust.* J. B. The fresh-water soldier, or water aloe. In the lake in Loving-land.

*Sedum minimum non acre flore albo.* Small mild white-flower'd Stonecrop. In the more barren grounds all along between Yarmouth and Donewich. This differs specifically from the common pepper-wort, and not in the colour of the flower only.

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N O R T H F O L K,

## NORTHFOLK, or NORFOLK.



**N**ORFOLK, commonly North-folk, that is, if you express it in Latin, *Berealis populus*, or the northern people, (from its northern situation, with regard to the rest of the East-Angles;) is the entire north bound of Suffolk, from which it is divided by the two little rivers I mention'd, Ouse the less, and Waveney, running contrary ways. On the east and north sides, the German ocean, abounding with fish, beats violently upon the shore; on the west, Ouse the greater, sporting it self with many turnings and windings, parts it from Cambridgeshire. The county is large, and almost all champian, except in some places, where there rise gentle hills. It is very rich, and well stor'd with flocks of sheep; and abounds with conies. It has great numbers of populous villages (for besides twenty-seven market-towns, it has six hundred twenty-five country towns and villages, or, according to the book of rates, thirty-two markets, and seven hundred and eleven villages;) and is also well water'd, and does not want wood. The soil is different, according to the several quarters; in some places it is fat, luscious, and moist, as in Meishland and Flegg; in others, especially to the west, it is poor, lean, and sandy; and in others, clayey and chalky. But (to follow the directions of Varro) the goodness of the soil may be gather'd from hence, that the inhabitants are of a bright clear complexion; not to mention their sharpness of wit, and singular sagacity in the study of our common law. So that it is at present, and always has been reputed, the most fruitful nursery of lawyers. (Particularly, it produced in the last age the great Sir Henry Spelman, a most zealous and successful advocate of the rights of church and

and clergy; from whom Mr. Speed acknowledges he receiv'd his description of Norfolk, and who, besides, drew up a compleat survey of this his native country; out of which many things, very curious and remarkable, are inserted in this present work. But, even among the common people you shall meet with many, who (as one expresses it) if no quarrel offers, are able to pick one out of the quirks and niceties of the law. And, for the preventing of the great and frequent contentions that might ensue thereupon, and the inconveniencies of too many attorneys, a special † statute was made as long since as the time of King Henry VI. to restrain the number of attorneys in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Norwich.

But lest, while I consult brevity, I suffer my self to be drawn into digressions; I will pass from these, to the places themselves; and, beginning at the south side, will take a short view of such as are of greatest note and antiquity.

Upon Ouse the less, where the little river Thet joins it out of Suffolk, is seated, in a low ground, the ancient city Sitomagus, mention'd by Antoninus, and corruptly nam'd in the fragments of an old table, Simomagus, and Sinomagus. And yet it may be worth while to consider, whether there is not something in these names, which implies its being the capital city of the Iceni. If we take Simomagus to be the right reading, Ptolemy's Simeni (for so he names the people of those parts) will favour it: And Sinomagus comes nearer the name Iceni, especially if we may suppose the I cast away, as in Hispani, Spani. Besides, Caesar's calling this people Cenimagni (which || one, finding them distinctly read Ceni, Agni, is of opinion should be read Iceni, Regni,) farther confirms this conjecture. It is now call'd Thetford and in Saxon Deotford, by keeping the first syllable of the old name, and adding the German ford. For as Sitomagus signifies in British a city upon the river Sit, now Thet (and, that Magus formerly signified a city, we have the authority of Pliny;) so does Thetford signify in English a ford of the Thet, and these two names Sit and Thet are not very unlike. But if we suppose (what is affirm'd by others upon the authority of the best copies) that the true name is Deotford, then the interpretation must be, a ford of the people. It was formerly famous for being a seat of the kings of the East-Angles; but it is now thinly peopled, tho' pretty large, and once a populous and noted place.

† Stat. 33 H. VI. c. 7.

|| See  
N n

Iceni, before Suffolk.

Besides

Besides other marks of its antiquity, it shews a huge mount cast up to a great height, and fortified with a double rampire, and formerly too (as they say) with walls. Some will have it to have been a work of the Romans; but others are rather inclin'd to think it done by the Saxon kings, under whom it was in a flourishing condition for a long while; and others again think it the work of the Danes, who made it considerable a figure in those parts; because the camps, both of Romans and Saxons, are generally observ'd to be much larger.

By the cruelty of Sueno the Dane, who set it on fire in the year 1004, and that of the Danes, who spoil'd it six years after, it lost all its dignity and grandeur. For the restoring of which, Arfastus the bishop remov'd his episcopal see from Elmham to this place; and his successor William spar'd neither cost nor pains in adorning and beautifying it; so that, under Edward the confessor, there were reckon'd in it nine hundred and forty-seven burgesses. And in the time of William the conqueror it had seven hundred and twenty mansions, whereof two hundred and twenty-four stood empty; and their chief magistrate was stil'd consul. But when the third bishop, Herbert, surnam'd Lofeng (as being made up of lying and flattery, for leasung in Saxon signifies lie or trick) and one who rais'd himself to this honour by ill arts and bribery; when he (I say) had translated this see to Norwich, this city relaps'd, as if come to its last period. Nor did the monastery of Cluniacks, built there by his means, make amends for the removal of the bishop. That religious house was bur't by Hugh Bigod, as appears from what is said in his original foundation charter. " I Hugh Bigod " steward to king Henry, with his consent, and by the advice of Herbert bishop of Norwich, placed Cluniac monks in the church of St Mary, lately the episcopal see of Thetford; which I gave them, and afterwards founded them another more convenient, without the village." Then the greatest part of the city, which had stood on the hither bank, fell to decay by little and little; but in the other part (tho' that too decay'd very much,) about \* three ages since were seven churches; besides three small monasteries, one whereof, they say, was built in memory of the English and Danes slain here. For our historians tell us, that the most holy king Edmund, a little before his death engag'd the Danes hard by, for seven hours together, not without valiant loss on both sides; and that at last they parted with equal success.

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\* Two, C.

such effect had those frequent turns of fortune on both sides, that it had made them altogether desperate.

An anonymous author quoted by Caius, tells us, there was formerly a great school, or nursery of learning, in this place. It may possibly be the same that Bede hints, when he informs us, how Sigebert ("after he was return'd home, and settled in his kingdom) built a school for the education of youth, in imitation of what he had observ'd of that nature in France." Whether this passage belongs to Thetford or Cambridge (for the latter lays claim to it, to advance its own antiquity,) is a point too large to be discuss'd here.

Norwithstanding the eminence, which the seat of the East Saxon kings, the bishops see, and several monasteries have entail'd upon this place (such honours as perhaps few cities can boast of;) yet in the ninth of Edward I. it was neither city nor burrough; for that king requiring an account of the cities, burroughs, and villages of this shire, Norwich was the only city return'd, and Yarmouth and Lynne, the only burroughs; possibly, because such had only that name, as sent representatives to parliament, whereas that privilege was not then granted to this place. In the seventh year of king James I. a statute pass'd in parliament, for the foundation of an hospital, a grammar-school, and maintenance of a preacher in this town, for ever, according to the last will and testament of Richard Fulmarston, knt. And of later days, Joseph Williamson, principal secretary of state to king Charles II. built here a new council house, and was otherwise, both in his life-time and by will, a considerable benefactor to this place.

Upon Waveney (which is the other boundary-river, running eastward) not far from its head, are Buckenham and Kenninghall. This river (which seems to have had the name left it by the Iceni) \* was the seat of the honourable family of the Howards, whose glory is greater than to be obscur'd by the envy of Buchanan; but it was long since diminished. The former, I should think, took its name from beech trees, call'd by the Saxons Bucken; if they, who know the condition of the place, did not affirm that they have few or no trees of that sort; and therefore the more probable original may be, from the great number of bucks, with which we may easily suppose the neighbouring woods to have been stock'd, and which at this day they do not altogether want. It is a very beautiful and strong castle, built by William

\* Is, C.

N n. 2

d'Antigny

d Aubigny, or de Albencio the Norman, to whom the conqueror had granted the place. By his posterity (who were earls of Arundel) it descended to the Totfalls in the time of Henry III by marriage, and from them by Caly and the Cliftens, it came at length to the family of the Knevetts. This last is very ancient; having been famous ever since the time of John Knevet, lord chancellor of England under Edward III. and very much enlarged and branched it self by honourable marriages. For besides those of Buckenham, the famous knights, Sir Henry Knevet of Wiltshire, and Sir Thomas Knevet of Ashellwell-thorp were descended thence. This Ashellwell-thorp is a neighbouring little town, which, from the Thorps, ancient knights, did, by the Tynny and lords Bouchiers of Bernes, at last descend by inheritance to the abovemention'd Thomas Knevet. The foresaid Buckenham is held upon this condition, that the lords of it be butlers at the coronation of the kings of England. So, in Carleton, a neighbouring village (a thing perhaps not unworthy our notice,) Ralph de Carleton, and another person, held lands by the service of carrying our lord the king a hundred herrings in pies, when they first came in season, to what part of England soever he should then be in. The town of Yarmouth by charter is bound to send to the sheriffs of Norwich these hundred herrings, which are to be bak'd in twenty-four pies or patties, and then deliver'd to the lord of the manor of East-Carleton, who is to convey them to the king. Which is every year duly observ'd to this day, and an indenture drawn up, the substance whereof is, That upon delivery of these pies to the lord of the manor, he shall acknowledge the receipt and be oblig'd to convey them to the king.

North from Carleton, and not far from Ashwel-thorp, is Depelham where grows the linden-tree mention'd and describ'd by Mr. Evelyn in his Sylva; a tree of vast bigness, which he calls *tillia colossia depelhamensis*. To the eye, it stands over the other trees, when viewed at distance, as a giant looks among so many pigmies. At the foot of it is a spring, which petrifies sticks, leave, and whatever falls into it. But to return. The river Waveney presently waters Diss, now Diss, a little town of pretty good note, which king Henry I. bestow'd upon Richard de Lucy, and he, shortly after, made over to Walter Fitz-Robert with his daughter. Robert Fitz-Walter, one of his posterity procur'd of Edward I. the privilege of a market for this place. From hence, tho' Waveney is thick set with towns, yet has it not one that can boast of antiquity, except it be Shelton, which is at some distance from it, and gave name to the very ancient family of the Sheltons. It

before it gets to the sea, it joins the river *Garienis*, call'd by the Britains *Guerne*, and by the English *Gerne* and *Jere*; without doubt, from the alder-trees (so nam'd in British) with which it is shaded. It rises in the middle of this county, not far from a small village call'd *Gareton*, to which it gave name; and has near it *Hengham*, which had its barons, call'd also *de Rhia*, descended from *John Marechal* (brother's son to *William Marechal* earl of *Pembroke*) to whom king *John* gave the lands of *Hugh de Gornay*, the traitor, with the daughter and coheir of *Hubert* lord of *Rhia*. But in process of time, it pass'd from the *Marechals* to the *Morleys*, and from them, by *Lovel*, to the *Parkers*, lords *Morley*. Afterwards, it was purchased by *Sir Philip Woodhouse*, and then came into the possession of the lord *Crew*, by marriage with the widow of *Sir Thomas Woodhouse*. At a little distance is *Skulton*, otherwise call'd *Burdos*, which was held on this condition, that the lord of it, at the coronation of the kings of England, should be chief lardiner, as they term him.

Near *Skulton*, is *Woodising*, the seat formerly of the family of *Southwell*, but since sold, first to *Sir Francis Crane*, and then to *Robert Belle*. The *Southwells* (of which family was the late *Sir Robert Southwell*, principal secretary of state for the kingdom of Ireland, and employ'd in several negociations abroad) are now seated at *Kings* weston in Gloucestershire. More to the east, we see *Wimundham*, now contracted into *Windham* (in the hundred of *Forehowe*, so call'd from the four hills or high places, in Saxon *heah*, upon which they held their meetings;) and famous for being the burying-place of the *Albines*, earls of *Arundel*, whose ancestor *William de Albiney*, butler to king *Henry I.* built a church here, and made it a cell to the monastery of *St. Albans*. Upon the steeple, which is very high, *William Kett*, one of the two Norfolk incendiaries, was hang'd, in the year 1549. It was sold by the last of the *Knevets* of that place to *Henry Hobart*, chief justice of the common-pleas. Nor must we pass by *Attiborough* at five miles distance, the seat of the ancient family of the *Mortimers*, whose bearing is different from those of *Wigmore* (namely, a shield or, seme de fleurs de lyz sable,) and who founded here a collegiate church, whereof, at present, there are no remains. Their estate pass'd formerly, by marriage, to the *Ratcliffs*, earls of *Suffex*, to the family of *Fitz-Ranulph*, and to *Ralph Bigod*, or else came from the *Bigods* to *Fitz-Ranulph*, and so to the *Ratcliffs*, as some affirm. This place (if *John Bramis*, a monk of *Thetford*, may be credited) is of great note and antiquity. He will have it to have been built and fortified by  
Atlynge,

Atlynge, a king of those parts; and his evidence for it, are two copies of that history which he translated, one in French, and the other in old English. Whatever credit these may deserve, it is certain that the termination burrough, wherever it occurs, denotes something of antiquity, as a castle, a fort, or the like. But to return to the river.

The Yare has not run far, towards the east, till a little river Wentsum (by others call'd Wentfar) empties it self into it from the south. Upon this, near its rise is a square entrenchment at Taiesborough, containing twenty-four acres. It seems to be an encampment of the Romans; possibly, that which in the chorographical table publish'd by Marcus Velserus, is call'd Ad Taum. Hard by, is Thurton, where, about twenty years since, were dug up several Roman coins of Quintilus, Tetricus, Gallienus, Victorinus, and others. Higher up, on the same river, formerly stood Venta Icenorum, the most flourishing city of this people; but now it has lost the ancient name, and is call'd Caister. Nor need we wonder, that of the three Ventæ in Britain, this alone should have lost its name, when it has lost its very being. For now, setting aside the broken walls (which, in a square, contain about thirty acres) with the marks where the buildings have stood, and some few Roman coins which they now and then dig up: there is nothing of it left. The description of this place agrees exactly with those given by Polybius, Vegetius, and others, concerning the ancient way of encampment among the Romans; the places also for the four gates are still manifestly to be seen. The Porta Prætoria look'd toward the east; opposite to which (without the Porta Decumana, and close by the river side) there still remain some ruins of a tower. The walls, enclosing the camp, were of flint and very large bricks. But, in after-ages, Norwich, at three miles distance, had its rise out of this; standing near the confluence of Yare, and another anonymous river call'd by some Bariden; not far from the head of which, is Raynham, the seat of Charles lord viscount Townsend, a person of great virtue, honour, and abilities; whose father, Horatio lord Townsend, baron of Kings-lynn, was, in the year 1682, advanced to the more honourable title of viscount Townsend of Raynham. The said anonymous river, in a long course, with its dinted and winding banks, comes to the Yare, by Attilbridge; leaving Horsford to the north, where the castle of William de Caen or Cheney (who in the reign of Henry II. was one of the chief among the nobility) lies overgrown with bushes and brambles.

Norwich, abovemention'd, is a famous city, call'd in Saxon Nord-pic, i. e. the northern bay or bosom (if pic in Saxon signify a bay or winding,

winding, as Rhenanus has told us ;) for here the river runs along with many windings : Or, the northern station (if pic, as Hadrianus Junius will have it, signify a secure station, where the houses are built close one to another ;) or else, the northern castle, if pic (as Alfrick the Saxon has affirmed) denote a castle. And the original of the name seems plainly to be from the castle there. For though it cannot be denied but pic signifies a bosom of the sea, and a station for ships, and a village, as well as a castle ; yet the circumstances seem here to determine it to the last sense. For the initial North being a relative term, must have something opposite to answer it : whereas we meet with no bays or bosoms on the south side : But, not above three miles south, we find the fore-said main of an ancient royal castle, which still keeps some footsteps of antiquity in its name of Castor. Now, from hence the age of the town does in some measure appear. For if it took the name from the castle, it is evident it must be of less antiquity. The castle indeed, one would imagine, from the circular form of the ditch, and vast compass of it, to have been either Danish or Norman ; but that there must have been one earlier, is clear, both from the Saxon original, and a charter of Henry I. directed to Harvey, first bishop of Ely, whereby that church is absolv'd from all services due to the castle of Norwich. Now (as Sir Henry Spelman well observe-) such services could not be impos'd, whilst the lands were in the hands of the bishops, monks, &c. and by consequence must needs become due whilst in the hands of some secular owner (and the last of these was Tombertus, governor of the southern Girevii, who bestow'd them on his wife Etheldreda, foundress of the monastery of Ely, about the year 677) So that from hence it appears, that the date of this castle is at least so far back, and perhaps much further. The reason why church lands were exempt from services, seems to be express'd in the laws of Edward II. " Because the prayers of the church ought to be lock'd on as more effectual than the assistance of the secular arm."

But if I should imagine, with some, that Norwich was the same with Venta ; this would be wittingly to believe a lie : For it has no better title to the name of Venta, than Basil has to that of Augusta, or Beldach to Babilonia : Namely, as this last arose, upon the fall of Babilonia, and the first upon that of Augusta, just so our Norwich rose, the late, out of the ancient Venta. Which appears from its name in British authors, Caer Guntum ; wherein (as also in the river Wentsum or Wentfar) we find the plain remains of the name Venta. For the name of Norwich does not appear in any of our writers, before the time

time of the Danish wars. So far is it from having been built either by Caesar or Guiteline the Britain, as some fabulous authors tell you, who swallow every thing that is offer'd, without consideration or judgement. However, at present, on account of its wealth, and populousness, greatness of buildings, and beautiful churches, with the number of them (for it hath had fifty parochial churches, and † thirty-six are now in use:) as also for the industry of its citizens, their loyalty to their prince, and civility to foreigners; it is deservedly reckon'd among the most considerable cities in Britain. Its latitude is fifty-two degrees, forty minutes; the longitude twenty-four degrees, fifty-five minutes. It is pleasantly seated, long-ways, on the side of an hill, reaching from south to north a mile and half: The breadth of it is scarce half so much, and towards the south it contracts it self by little and little, like a cone. It is fortified with strong walls (with a great many turrets, and eleven gates) on all sides except the east, which the river defends with its deep chanel and steep banks; after it has with its winding reaches, over which are four bridges, wash'd the north part of the city. In the infancy whereof, and in the reign of king Ethelred (a prince of no policy nor conduct) Sueno the Dane, who invaded England with a great army, first spoil'd, and then burnt it. Notwithstanding which, it recover'd, and (as appears by the conqueror's survey) in the reign of Edward the confessor, "had one thousand  
 " three hundred and twenty burgers. At which time (to describe it  
 " from the same book) it paid twenty pounds to the king, and ten to  
 " the earl; and besides that, twenty shillings, four prebendaries, six  
 " sextaries of honey, and a bear, with six dogs to bait him. Now, it  
 " pays seventy pounds by weight to the king, a hundred shillings as a  
 " fine to the queen, with an ambling palfrey: Twenty pounds blank  
 " also to the earl, and twenty shillings fine by tale." In the reign of William I. this was the seat of a civil war, which Ralph earl of the East-Angles rais'd against that king. For after he had escap'd by flight, his wife, with the Armorican Britains, endur'd a close siege in this place; till, for want of provisions, she was forced to make her escape and quit her country. And at that time the city was so impair'd, that (as appears by the same Domesday) there were scarce five hundred and sixty burgers left in it. Lanfrank, archbishop of Canterbury, mentions his surrender in a letter to king William, in these words: "Your

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† It has some 30 parishes, C.

"kingdom is purg'd from the infection of the Britains (or Armoricans:) the castle of Norwich is surrender'd; and the Britains, who were in it and had lands here in England, upon granting them life and limb, have taken an oath to depart your dominions within forty days, and never to return without your special licence." From that time forward, it began by little and little to recover out of this deluge of miseries; and bishop Herbert, whose reputation had suffer'd much by simoniacal practices, translated the episcopal see from Thetford hither. He built a very beautiful cathedral in the east and lower part of the city, in a place till then call'd Cow-holme, near the castle: the first stone whereof, in the reign of William Rufus, and in the year of our Lord 1096, he himself laid, with this inscription:

DOMINUS HERBERTUS POSUIT PRIMUM LAPIDEM IN NOMINE PATRIS, FILII, ET SPIRITUS SANCTI. AMEN.

That is,

*Lord Herbertus laid the first stone, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.*

Afterwards, he procured a licence from pope Paschal, "to confirm and establish it to be the mother church of Norfolk and Suffolk;" and endow'd it liberally with lands, sufficient for the maintenance of sixty monks, who had neat and curious cloysters. But these were removed, and a dean, with six prebendaries, and others, settled in their places. After the church thus built, and an episcopal see placed here, "it became (as Malmsbury has it) a town famous for merchandise, and number of inhabitants. And in the 17th of king Stephen (as we read in some ancient records) Norwich was built a new, was populous for a village, and was made a corporation." That king Stephen also granted it to his son William for an appennage (as they call it) or inheritance, is evident from the publick records. But Henry II. took it from him, and held it himself; notwithstanding that Henry his son, the junior king, as they call'd him, when he was aspiring to the crown had promis'd it in ample terms to Hugh Bigod earl of Norfolk, whom he had drawn over to his party. Bigod however, adhering to the young king (who could not confine his eager hopes of the crown, within the bounds of justice and equity) miserably harass'd this city; and is thought to have rebuilt that castle on the high hill near the cathedral,

dral, within the city, which is encompass'd with a trench of such vast depth, that in those days it was look'd on as impregnable. But Lewis of France, under whom the rebellious barons had confederated against king John, easily took it by siege. The reason why I fancy that it was Bigod who repair'd the castle, is because I observ'd lions saliant cut in a stone, in the same manner, as the Bigods formerly us'd them in their seals; of whom there was one that seal'd with a cross. And this was the condition of Norwich in its infancy.

But in the next age it increas'd mightily, and abounded with wally citizens; who, by an humble petition in parliament, desir'd liberty of Edward I. to wall their city round: And afterwards accordingly did it, to the great strength and ornament thereof. In the year 1403, they obtain'd leave of Henry IV. that instead of bailiffs (which they had before) they might elect a mayor yearly; and in the very heart of the city, they built a very beautiful town-house, near the market-place, which, on the set days, is plentifully furnish'd with all manner of provisions. It is partly indebted for its prosperity to the people of the Netherlands; who, when they could no longer endure the tyranny of the duke of \* Alva, nor the bloody inquisition then setting up, flock'd hither in great numbers, and first brought in the manufacture of fling stuffs; that is (according to tradition here) the ornaments of striping and flowering the stuff, which have been wonderfully improv'd by the ingenuity of the weavers of late years, in the making of damasks, camlets, druggets, black and white crape, and other things; insomuch that it is computed, that stuffs to the value of 700000*l.* have sometimes been manufactur'd here, in one year. But why stay I so long upon these matters? Since † most of them, together with the history of the bishops, the succession of their magistrates, and the fury of that villainous rebel Kett against this city, are very elegantly describ'd by Alexander Nevil, a person eminent for birth and learning. I will only add, that in the year 1583, the citizens, by the help of an engine for that purpose, convey'd water through pipes into the highest part of the city. And here I could summon both Polydore Virgil the Italian, and Angelus Capellus the Frenchman, before the tribunal of venerable antiquity; to give an account, how they came to affirm that our old OrdoVICES (who liv'd almost under another hemisphere) inhabited this Norwich. I could bring the same action against our country-

\* Albani.

† All, C.

man Caius; but that I am satisfied, it was nothing but a natural love of his native country, that blinded the good learned old man.

This city is honour'd, by making one of the many titles of his grace the duke of Norfolk; the father of the last duke being created by king Charles II. in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, earl of Norwich. And I have nothing more to add about Norwich; unless you have a mind to run over these verses made upon it by John Johnston a Scotchman.

*Urbs speciosa situ, nitidis pulcherrima tectis,  
Grata peregrinis, deliciosa suis.  
Bellorum sedes, trepido turbante tumultu,  
Tristia Neustriaco sub duce damna tulit.  
Victis dissidiis, postquam caput ardua calo  
Extulit, immensis crevit opima opibus.  
Cultus vincit opes, & cultum gratia rerum,  
Quam bene! si luxus non comitetur opes.  
Omnia sic adeo sola hæc sibi sufficit, ut si  
Fors regno desit, hæc caput esse queat.*

A town, whose stately piles and happy seat  
Her citizens and strangers both delight  
Whose tedious siege and plunder made her bear  
In Norman troubles an unhappy share,  
And feel the sad effects of dreadful war.  
These storms o'erblown, now blest with constant peace,  
She saw her riches and her trade increase.  
State here by wealth, by beauty wealth's out-done;  
How blest, if vain success be yet unknown!  
So fully is she from her self supply'd,  
That England, while she stands, can never want an head.

From Norwich, the river Yare, with an increase of other waters which take the same name, rowls on in a winding chanel, and abounds with the fish call'd ruffe; and because the English in that word express the Latin Asperum, John Caius term'd the fish Aspredo. For the body of it is all over rough; it is full of sharp fins, loves sandy places, and in shape and bigness is much like a perch. The colour of the back is a dark brown; the belly, a palish yellow. Along the jaws, it is mark'd with a double semicircular line: The upper half of the eye is

a dark brown; the under, yellowish like gold; and the ball, black. It is particularly remarkable for a line drawn along the back, like a cross thread tied to the body. The tail and fins are all over spotted with black. When it is provok'd, the fins bristle up; when quiet, they lie flat and close. It eats like a perch, and is particularly valued for its shortness and wholesomeness.

The Yare having pass'd Claxton (where is a round castle, built by Sir Thomas Gawdy, knt. chief justice of the common pleas) run to Redeham, a small village upon the same river, so call'd from the reeds growing in the marshy grounds thereabouts. Here it was, that Lothbroc, the Danish noble man, landed, being by a sudden storm driven from his own coast, while he was a hawking; and finding entertainment at king Edmund's court, then at Castor, he liv'd there, till he was murder'd by the king's huntsman. Upon the news, his sons (the murderer had been sufficiently punish'd) landed with twenty thousand men, to revenge the death of their father, and wasted the whole kingdom of the East-Angles; and on the 20th of November, Anno 870, barbarously murder'd the king thereof. By this account, Redeham must be of elder date than Yarmouth; because if this had been then built, Lothbroc had no doubt stopp'd there, for assistance and direction.

The Yare, now just at the sea, takes a turn to the south, that it may descend more gently into the ocean: By which means it makes a sort of little tongue or slip of land; wash'd, on one side, by itself, on the other, by the sea. In this slip, upon an open shore, I saw Yarmouth, in Saxon Yar-muth, and Jier-muth, i. e. the mouth of the C. rienis, a very neat harbour and town, fortified both by art and nature. For though it is almost surrounded with water (on the west, with the river, over which is a draw-bridge, and on other sides with the sea) except to the north, where it is join'd to the continent: Yet is it fenc'd with strong stately walls, which, with the river, give it the figure of an oblong square. Besides the towers upon these, there is a mole or mount to the east, from whence the great guns command the sea, which is scarce fifty paces distant from it. It \* has but one church: but that is very large, and has a stately high spire; built near the north gate by Herbert bishop of Norwich. Below which, the foundations of a noble work, design'd for an enlargement to this, are rais'd above-

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\* Now, two.

ground. I dare not affirm, that this was the old Garianonum, where formerly the Strableian horse lay in garrison against the Barbarians; nor yet the neighbouring little village Caſtor (formerly the ſeat of Sir John Falſtoff an eminent knight) famous among the inhabitants on account of its antiquity; though there is a report that the river Yare had another mouth, juſt under it. But as I am thoroughly convinced that the Garianonum was at Burgh-caſtle in Suſſolk, which is ſcarce two miles diſtant from the oppoſite bank of the river; ſo am I apt to think, that Yarmouth roſe out of its ruins, and that that Caſtor was one of the Roman caſtles, placed alſo at a mouth of the river Yare now ſhut up. For as the north-weſt wind plays the tyrant upon the coaſt of Holland, over-againſt this place, and has ſtopp'd up the middle mouth of the Rhine with ſands; juſt ſo has the north-eaſt damaged this coaſt, and ſeems, by ſweeping up heaps of ſand, to have obſtruded this harbour; for the cleaning and keeping open of which, many ſtatutes have paſſ'd in parliament, in regard of the great importance thereof, for carrying on the trade and navigation of this kingdom. Nor will it be any injury, if I call this our Yarmouth (ſo nearly join'd to the old Garianonum) Garianonum it ſelf; ſince the Garienis, from whence it had the name, has now changed its channel, and enters the ſea below this town; to which it alſo gave the name. For I cannot but own, that this our Yarmouth is of later date. For when that old Garianonum was gone to decay, and there were none left to defend this ſhore, Cerdiek, the warlike Saxon, landed here (from whence the place is call'd by the inhabitants at this day Cerdick-land, and by other hiſtorians Cerdick-ſhore;) and when he had harraſſ'd the Icem with a grievous war, he ſet ſail from hence for the weſt, where he ſettled the kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons. And not long after, the Saxons inſtead of Garianonum, built a new town in that moiſt watery field upon the weſt ſide of the river, which they call'd Yarmouth. But the ſituation thereof proving unwholſome, they remov'd to the other ſide of the river, call'd then (from the ſame Cerdick) Cerdick-land: And there they built this new town, wherein (as Domeſday-book has it) there flouriſh'd in the time of Edward the confeſſor ſeventy burghers. Afterwards, about the year of our Lord 1340, the citizens wall'd it round; and, in a ſhort time, became ſo rich and powerful, that they often engag'd their neighbours of Leſtoff, and the Portuenies (ſo they call'd the inhabitants of the cinque-ports) in ſea-fights; with great ſlaughter on both ſides. For they had a particular ſpite againſt them; poſſibly upon this account, becauſe they were excluded out of the

the number and privileges of the cinque-ports, which the old Gariannonum, and their ancestors under the count of the Saxon shore, formerly enjoy'd. But a stop was put to these encounters, by royal authority; or (as others think) by the damp cast upon them by that grievous plague, which in one year took seven thousand souls out of this little town, as appears by an old chronographical table hung up in the church; which also gives an account of their wars with the inhabitants of the cinque-ports and Ilesoff. From that time they decay'd, and had not wealth sufficient to carry on their trade; upon which they have betaken themselves mostly to the herring-fishing (for so they generally call them, though the learned think them to be the Chalcides and the Leucomanides;) a sort of fish that is more plentiful upon this coast, than upon any other in the world. For it is almost incredible, what a great and throng fair here is at Michaelmas; and what quantities of herring and other fish are vended. At which time the cinque-ports, by an old custom, appoint a number of bailiffs, as commissioners, to send hither; who (to speak out of their diploma or commission) do, along with the magistrates of the town, "during the free fair, hold a court for matters belonging to the fair, govern it, execute the king's justice, and keep the king's peace." The harbour underneath is of great advantage, not only to the inhabitants, but to those of Norwich also; and it is an infinite charge they are at, to keep it open against the violence of the sea. Which, to do justice and make amends for what it has swallow'd up on this coast, has here heap'd up sands, and made them a little island. In the reign of king Charles II. Sir Robert Paston, of Paston in this county, was, from this place, created viscount, and after that earl of Yarmouth; in which honour he was succeeded by William his eldest son, the present earl.

At this mouth also, another river, call'd by some Thyrn, empties itself with the Yare. It rises near Holt, so call'd from the wood, and is noted for its market: And, running all along as it were in a parallel line with the Yare, at about five miles distance it goes by Blickling, the seat of the ancient and famous family of Clere, who liv'd formerly at Ormesby; but heretofore the seat of the Bolens, of which family was Thomas Bolen, earl of Wiltshire: And Anne Bolen, wife to Henry VIII. and mother to queen Elizabeth, was born here. It came to the Cleres by marriage with the daughter of James Bolen, uncle to queen Elizabeth, and by Edward Clere, knight of the order of St. Michael, was sold to Sir Henry Hobart, chief justice of the common-pleas, who built there a stately house, that is still enjoy'd by his posterity.

Then it runs by Ailesham, a pretty populous market-town, where formerly the earl of Athol in Scotland had possessions: Then, by the ruinous monastery of St. Benedict de Hulmo (commonly St. Benet in the Holme, i. e. in a river-island,) which was built by Canutus the Dane, and afterwards so fortified by the monks with strong walls and bulwarks, that it look'd more like a castle than a cloyster. So that William the conqueror could not possibly take it, till a monk betray'd it, on condition that he should be made abbot; which he accordingly was. But presently, the new abbot (as the story goes among the inhabitants) was by the king's special order, hang'd for a traitor, and so receiv'd the just reward of his treachery. The ground in this island is so fenny, that if you only cut the little strings and roots of the trees and shrubs that grow in it, it will swim upon the water, and you may draw it after you whither you please. And some conclude, from the cockles now and then dug up there, that the sea has formerly broken in so far. From hence the river glides on by Ludham, formerly a seat of the bishops of Norwich; then by Clipsby, which gave name to an ancient and eminent family in these parts: And so, presently joins the Yare.

Near the place where this river runs into the sea, it makes one side of a peninsula, call'd at this day Flegg. The soil is fruitful, and bears corn very well; and here the Danes seem to have made their first settlement, both because it is nearest their landing, and is pretty well fortified by nature, as being almost surrounded with water; and, also, because in that little compass of ground we find thirteen villages ending in *by*, a Danish word, which signifies a village or dwelling-place. And hence the Bi-aignes of the Danish writers, and our by-laws here in England, come to signify such laws as are peculiar to each town or village.

From the Yare's mouth, the shore runs almost directly north to Winterton, a little promontory of note among the sea-men; which, I fancy, had that name given it from the cold and winterly situation. For it lies open to the sea (the parent of winds and cold) which rushes violently against the banks rais'd on purpose to oppose it. And yet the neighbouring fields all round, are look'd upon by several to be the fastest and loofest in all England; as requiring the least labour, and bringing the largest increase. For (as Pliny says of Bizacium in Africa) it may be plow'd with a horse ever so bad, and an old woman drawing against him.

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From Winterton, the shore presently turns westward, going back for a long way together, in a level, without any considerable jutting-cuts into the sea; as far as Eccles, which is almost swallow'd up by the ocean. Then it runs on, with a higher shore, by Bronholme, formerly a small monastery, endow'd by the Glanvils, and seated upon a high hill; the cross whereof was by our ancestors had in mighty veneration: And not far from Gimmingham, which, among other manors, J. earl of Warren and Surrey formerly gave to Thomas earl of Lancaster. Here (saith Sir Henry Spelman) the ancient custom of tenure in soccage is still kept up; the tenant not paying his rent in money, but in so many days work. Then, along by Cromer (where the inhabitants at great expence endeavour'd to maintain a little harbour against the violence of the sea, but in vain.

Not far from whence, is Gresham, which gave name to a family render'd particularly eminent by Sir Thomas Gresham, founder of Gresham-College, and of the Royal-Exchange, in London. West of Gresham, at a small distance from the sea, is Mundesley where some years ago, at a cliff, were taken up large bones (thought to be of a monster) which were petrified. From Cromer, the shore runs to Wauburnehop, a creek \* not long since fortified; so call'd from the little town of Wauburne, to which king Edward II. granted a market and fair at the instance of Oliver de Bourdeaux. Next to this is Clay, a port, memorable for a son and heir to the king of Scotland being there intercepted, Anno 1406, in his way to France, by the sea-men of the place; who made a present of him to king Henry IV. And over-against it, on the other bank of the little river, is Blakeney, call'd by our countryman, Bale, Nigeria, a famous college of Carmelite friars in the last age save one, built by Robert de Roes, Robert Bacon, and J. Brett. It bred John Baconthorp (so nam'd from the place of his birth, which † was the seat of the knightly family of the Heydons) a person in that age of so universal and so profound learning, that he was highly admir'd by the Italians, and went commonly by the name of the resolute doctor. Whereupon Paulus Panfa writes thus of him: "If your inclinations lead you to search into the nature of Almighty God, no one has writ more accurately upon his essence. If you have a mind to search into the causes of things, the effects of nature, the various motions of the heavens, and the contrary qualities

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\* So said, ann. 1607.

† Is now, C.

of the elements; here you are presented with a magazine. This one resolute doctor has furnish'd the Christian religion with the strongest armour against the Jews, &c." From Wainburne to the little promontory of St. Edmund, the coast lies lower, and is cut and parted by many rivulets, and secur'd with great difficulty against the incursion of the sea, by sand heaps call'd meales, and so nam'd (saith Spelman) from the Swedish and German Mul, signifying dust.

More inward, and scarce four miles from hence, is Walsingham; which, from the nearness of the sea, Erasmus calls Parathalassa. This little town is noted at present for producing the best saffron, but was once famous throughout England for pilgrimages to the Virgin Mary, in a monastery built there by Richolde, a noble widow, lady of that manour, about four hundred years before the dissolution. For in the last age, whoever had not made a visit and an offering to the blessed Virgin of this place, was look'd upon as impious and irreligious. But take the description of it from Erasmus, who was an eye-witness. *Not far from the sea, at almost four miles distance, there is a town in a manner entirely maintain'd by the great resort of travellers. There is a college of canons, call'd by the Latins regular; a middle sort between monks and secular canons. This college has scarce any other revenues, besides the offerings made to the blessed Virgin. For some of the gifts only that are more considerable, are preserv'd; but if it be any thing of money, or of small value, it goes to the maintenance of the convent and their head, whom they stile prier. The church is splendid and beautiful; but the Virgin dwells not in it: That, out of veneration and respect, is granted to her son. She has her church so contriv'd, as to be on the right hand of her son. But neither in that does she live, the building being not yet finish'd; and the wind runs through it on all sides; for both doors and windows are open, and the ocean (the parent of the winds) is hard by. In the church, which I told you is unfinish'd, is a little narrow chapel of wood, into which the pilgrims are admitted on each side at a narrow door. There is but little light; almost none indeed, except that of the wax tapers, which have a very grateful smell. But if you look in, you'll say it is a seat of the Gods, so bright and shining it is all over, with jewels of gold, and silver. But within the memory of our † fathers, when Henry VIII. had set his eyes and heart upon the treasures and revenues of the church, all these were seiz'd and carried off. And yet Sir Henry Spelman tells us, there was a common tradition when he was a child, that*

\* So said, ann. 1607.

† Ibid.

the same king Henry had gone bare-foot thither from Batham (a town lying south-west from hence) and offer'd a neck-lace of great value to the Virgin Mary. But in the thirtieth year of his reign, Cromwell carried her image from hence to Chelsey: where he took care to have it burnt. I have nothing else to add about Walsingham, but that the knightly family of the Walsinghams (as the genealogists will have it) had their name and original from this place. Of which family, was Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state to queen Elizabeth: a person as admirably vers'd, so wonderfully assiduous, in the great and weighty affairs of state. In the neighbourhood, at Houghton, formerly flourish'd the famous family of the Neirfords: very much enriched by matching with Parnel de Vaulx, who had a great estate about Holt, Clay, and in other parts. But to return to the shore.

Towards the sea side, are cast up all along little hills, which were doubtless the burying-places of the Danes and Saxons, upon their engagements in those parts. *Sepulchrum* (says Tacitus concerning the Germans) *cespes erigit*, i. e. a turf raises the sepulchre. Those two people us'd to bury the whole body, and afterwards raise a hill upon it: The Romans (as appears in Virgil by the burial of Mezentius) made their heap of turf, but only buried the ashes; so that whether they also might not have some concern in these hills (especially, Bonnaeodunum being so near) cannot be discover'd, but by digging. However, our \* learned knight from those circumstances, has rais'd three following observations; first, that the persons buried hereabouts must have been Heathens, because the Christians follow'd the Jewish way of burying in low places. For though our word bury (coming from the Saxon byrgan, and that from beorg, a hill) denotes a rising ground as well as the Latin *tumulare*, yet this is to be reckon'd amongst those many words which Christians have borrow'd from the Heathens, and applied to their own rites and constitutions. Secondly, that those parts which are now very fruitful in corn, were then uncultivated; because the superstition of the Heathens would not allow them to bury in fields. Thirdly, that this must have been a scene of war between the Danes and Saxons: For in the fields near Creake there is a large Saxon fortification; and the way that goes from it to this day call'd Blood-gate, as a mark of the dismal slaughter. Hereabouts, is also great plenty of the herb *ebulum*, which the inhabi-

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\* Spelman.

call Dane-blood, as if it were the product of their blood spilt

Near Walsingham, upon the sea shore to the west, stood that ancient *annodunum*, where, when the Saxons began to infect Britain, the *almatian* horse kept garrison under the count of the Saxon shore. Now it is a country village, retaining nothing but the remains of the *me*, and shewing an entrenchment (the neighbours call it *Caster*) which includes some eight acres, and is nam'd *Brancaster*. Here, ancient Roman coins are frequently dug up, and we see the plain remains of the said Roman camp, answering the figure of that which is described by *Cæsar*. He commanded a camp to be made twelve foot high, with a rampire and ditch eighteen foot deep. All the dimensions shew, that it was not made in haste, but was regular, and designed for a station upon that northern shore, against the incursions of the Saxons. It seems to imply no more, by the name, than a town upon a river; for *dunum* (as *berig* and *burg* in Saxon) signifies as well a town, as a hill; and the British *bran*, as well as *burne*, signifies a rivulet. These two we find confounded in the surname of *Leofrick* the Saxon, who is sometimes call'd *Dominus de Brane*, and sometimes *Burne*. Sir Henry Spelman tells us, there were several coins dug up here, in his time likewise, of which he had some brought him; as also two little brazen pitchers. This was a very proper place for a garrison: For at the neighbouring chapel of *St. Edmund*, and at *Hunston* built by the same *St. Edmund*, the shore turns in to the south, and forms a large bay, which is much expos'd to pirates, and receives several rivers.

*St. Edmund's* cape is so call'd, from *Edmund* king and martyr; who being by *Offa* adopted to be heir of the kingdom of the *East-Angles*, was led with a great retinue from Germany, in some port not far from here, call'd *Maiden-boure*. But which it should be, is not so certain: *Hecham* is too little and obscure; nor does *Burnham* seem large enough to receive such a navy upon that occasion; tho' it must be considered that their ships in those times were but small. *Lenn* seems to have the best claim to it, both as the most eminent port, and because it is really *Maiden-boure*, *St. Margaret the Virgin* being, as it were, the tutelary saint of that place. In honour of her, the arms of the county are three dragons heads, each wounded with a cross (for she is said with a cross to have conquer'd a dragon.) And their publick seal shews the picture of the *Virgin* wounding the dragon with a cross, and treading him under foot, with this inscription round it:

*Stat Margareta, draco fugit, in cruce lata.*

Hunstanton aforementioned is the place where king Edmund reigned near a whole year, endeavouring to get by heart David's psalms in the Saxon language. The very book was religiously preserved by the monks of St. Edmundsbury, till the general dissolution of monasteries. It is neither is the place to be omitted upon this account, that it has been the seat of the famous family of Le-Strange, knights, ever since the baron Le-Strange of Knockin, bestowed it upon his younger brother Hamon; which was in the reign of Edward II.

Farther southward, on the sea coast, lies Inglethorp, so called from a village built there by one Ingulph, to whom Thoke, the great lord of these parts, gave his only daughter in marriage: Tho, perhaps, may be as probably fetch'd from Ingol, a little river which runs into the sea there.

The catching of hawks, and the abundance of fish, with the amber commonly found upon this coast, I purposely pass by, because other places also in those parts afford them in great plenty. Sharnborn upon this coast is well worth our notice, because here the Burgundian, who converted the East-Angles to Christianity, here the second Christian church of that province (the first, he is said to have built at Babingley, where he landed. Of this place Tat was lord, when Fœlix came to convert the East-Angles. Upon his conversion to Christianity, he built here a church dedicated to Peter and St. Paul. It was very little, and (according to the custom of that age) made of wood, for which reason it was call'd *Stool-Church*, and was probably the very same that Fœlix is said to have built at Babingley, Fœlix the apostle of the East-Angles, coming about the year 630, converted the inhabitants to Christianity, and (as hath been said) built there the first Christian church in those parts; of whose succeeding ages made St. Fœlix the patron. Some remains of this transaction seem to be found in the mountains call'd *Christian Hills* and in *Flitcham*, which imports as much as the village or dwelling place of Fœlix. But to return to Sharnborn. It is also remarkable what we are inform'd by ancient records, that the Saxon lord of this place, before the coming-in of the Normans, had, upon a fair hearing, sentence given in favour of him by the conqueror himself against his son, on whom the same conqueror had bestowed it. The name of

lord of the place was Edwin, a Dane, who came over with Canutus, Anno 1014, and had it by marrying an heiress of Thoke's family. It appears by a manuscript quoted by Sir Henry Spelman, that his plea against Warren was, *That he had not been aiding or assisting against the king, directly or indirectly, either before, at, or after the conquest; but all that while kept himself out of arms. And this he was ready to prove whenever the king pleas'd.* Which instance is urg'd by those, who hold that William did not possess himself of England by conquest, but by treaty and covenant.

The foremention'd bay we call the Washes; but Ptolemy calls it *Æstuarium Metaris*, possibly instead of *Maltraith*, a name by which the Britains call'd such æstuaries in other places, and which imports no more than an uncertain æstuary, as this is. Upon it, where the river Ouse enters the ocean, is seated *Linne*, perhaps so nam'd from its spreading waters; for that is implied by *Lhyn* in British. But Spelman affirms, that the right name is *Len*; from *Len*, in Saxon, a farm, or tenure in fee: So *Fanelhen*, among the Germans, is the tenure or fee of a baron; and *Len Episcopi* is the bishop's farm. He further observes (tho' I could never meet with any such word amongst our English Saxons) that the word *Len* is used also in a more limited sense by the Saxons to signify church-lands, and appeals to the several names of places, wherein that sense of the word holds; and further, *Ter-len* (it seems) in Welsh is *Terra Ecclesiæ*. This is a large town, almost surrounded with a deep ditch and walls, and divided by two rivulets, which have some fifteen bridges over them. It is but of a late date, and was call'd not long since *Bishop's Linne*, because till Henry VIII's time it belong'd to the bishops of Norwich (for it arose out of the ruins of one more ancient, which lies in *Merthland* overagainst it, and is call'd at this day *Old Lynne*.) But that king exchanging the monastery of *St. Bennet* of *Hulme* and other lands for the revenues of the bishoprick; this, among the rest, came into his hands, and so, with the possessor, chang'd the name into *Len Regis*. But altho' it is of late date, yet for its safe harbour, with an entrance very easy, for the number of merchants, beauty of buildings, and wealth of the citizens, it was beyond dispute the best town of the *Icenii*, *Norwich* only excepted; (but, at present, *Yarmouth* is so much grown in trade, as to have double the number of shipping, merchants, and inhabitants.) It enjoys also very large immunities, which they purchased of king *John* with the price of their own blood, spent in the defence of his cause. For he granted them a mayor, and gave his own sword to be car-

\* So said, ann. 1607.

† And King's Lynne, C.

ried before him (as they affirm) with a silver cup gilt, which they have to this day.

But, as to the sword, there is some reason to doubt the truth of this tradition: For they tell you, it was given from king John's side to be carried before the mayor, whereas he did not grant them a mayor, but only a provost; and the privilege of a mayor was granted by king Henry III. as a reward for their good service against the barons in the isle of Ely. Besides, king John's charter makes no mention of the sword; so that it is probable it might be given by Henry VIII. who (after it came into his hands) granted the town several privileges, chang'd their burgesies into aldermen, and granted them a sword (whereof express mention is made in the charter) to be carried before their mayor.\*

After king John, they purchased their lost liberties of Henry III. not without blood; when they sided with him against the out-law'd barons, and engag'd them unsuccessfully in the isle of Ely. An account whereof we have in the book of Ely, and in Matthew Paris.

This town hath a very large church with a high spire, built by bishop Herbert, who also built the cathedral at Norwich, with the churches of Yarmouth and Elmham: And all this was done by way of penance, after simony had been charg'd upon him by the see of Rome. It hath no fresh-water springs, but is supplied partly by a river from Gaywood (the water whereof is rais'd by engines, and from thence some conduits in the town are supplied,) and partly by water conveyed in leaden pipes; one from Middleton about three miles, the other from Mintlin, about two miles off. In order to the restoration of king Charles II. the harbour here was fortified, and considerable forces prepar'd, by Sir Horace Townshend of Raynham in this county; who was thereupon, in the thirteenth year of the said king, advanc'd to the degree of a baron of this realm, by the title of lord Townshend of King's-Lynne.

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\* I find a loose paper of Sir Henry Spelman's, dated September 15, 1630. to this purpose: That he was then assur'd by the town-clerk of Len, that the sword-bearer about fifty years before, came to the school-master of the place, and desir'd him, because one side of the hilt of the town-sword was plain and without any inscription, that he would direct how to engrave upon it, That, king John gave that sword, to the town. Whereupon he caused the person who gave this information, and was then his scholar, to write these words, *Ensis hic fuit donum Regis Johannis a suo ipse latere datum; i. e.* This sword was the gift of king John, given from his own side. After which, the sword-bearer carried the writing to a goldsmith, and caus'd him to engrave it. So that, by this account, whatever inscription of that nature may be now upon it, must not of it self be interpreted to amount to a full proof of that antiquity, which the matter of the inscription sets forth.

Over the river, opposite to Lynnh, lies Merfshland, a peninsula, almost surrounded with navigable rivers and an arm of the sea; being a low marshy little tract (as the name implies,) every where parcelled with ditches and drains to draw off the waters which make it look as if it were cut to pieces; and they have over them no less than one hundred and eleven bridges. The whole, in the widest part, is but ten miles over, consisting of thirty thousand acres. The soil is exceeding fat; and (turning to more account by grass than corn) breeds abundance of cattle; so that in the place call'd Tilney-Smeth (tho' not any way above two miles over) there feed to the number of about thirty thousand sheep, besides the pasture of all the larger cattle belonging to the seven villages there. But the sea, what by beating, washing away, overflowing, and demolishing, makes such frequent and violent attempts upon them, that they have much ado to keep it out by the help of the strongest banks. Indeed, the even superficies, and other circumstances, seem to argue its being formerly recover'd from the sea by the industry of the ancient inhabitants. And Sir Henry Spelman tells us, that within his memory, there were two general overflowings, one of salt, and the other of fresh, water. By the latter (as appear'd upon oath taken before the commissioners appointed to inspect that affair, whereof Sir Henry was one) the inhabitants suffer'd forty-two thousand pounds damage. For the water did not then break down the bank (as at other times) but ran over it, at least a whole foot. They are within a few years fallen upon an expedient, which, it is hoped, will prove a good defence to the most dangerous and weakest parts; namely, a substantial brick wall with earth, which (where it was well contriv'd) hath resisted the tides; whereas the value of the estates was almost yearly laid out in the old way of imbanking.

The most considerable places in this tract, are, Walpole (i. e. a pool near the wall or rampire, of the same original with its neighbours Walton and Walske;) which the lord of the place formerly gave to the church of Ely with his son, whom he made a monk there: Wigenhall, the possession of J. Howard in the reign of Edward I. whose posterity grew into a most honourable and illustrious family: Tilney before-mention'd, which gave name to the ancient family of the Tilneys, knights; and St. Maries, the seat of the ancient family of the Corvils.

And thus we have survey'd the whole sea-coast. More inward, on the west side of the county, there are also several towns; but I will only touch upon them, because many of them are of a late date. Downham is so call'd from its hilly situation (for dun signifies a hill, and

and ham a dwelling) In some old records it is call'd Downeham-hithe, i. e. Downeham-port, from the river upon which it stands. The privilege of a market belonging to this place, is of a very ancient date, for it is confirm'd by Edward the confessor. A little more northward is Stow-Bardolf, where Nicholas Hare built a stately house; but Hugh Hare, brother to Nicholas, was he who so much improv'd the estate; and, dying without marriage, left a vast inheritance between two nephews. Not far from hence lies West-Dereham, famous for the birth of Hubert Walter, who being bred up under the famous lord chief justice Glanville, became archbishop of Canterbury, lord chancellor under king Richard I. legate to pope Celestine IV. and chief justice of all England. The respect which he had for the place, obliged him to build a religious house there, wherein (as an instance of gratitude for the many favours he had receiv'd) he order'd, that they should constantly pray for the soul of his great patron, Ralph de Glanvilla. \* On the other side of Linne, is Rising Castle, seated on a high hill, and vying with that at Norwich. It was formerly the seat of the Albinies, afterwards of Robert de Monthault, by marriage with the sister and coheir of Hugh de Albiney, earl of Arundel; and lastly, of the Mowbrays, descended (as I have been told) from the same stock with the Albinies. But now it is ruined, and, as it were, expiring with age. To fortify the said castle, there is also a vast circular ditch, the form whereof (according to Procopius's description) answers the Gothick manner of fortifying: And therefore it is probably a work of the Normans, who were descended from the Goths. The Saxons indeed made their fosse circular, but then it was more narrow, less deep, and generally of greater circumference. But the Romans also seem to have had something of a fortification here, the shore being much expos'd to piracies (wherein the Saxons shew'd themselves great masters;) and the place, as it were, guarding and overlooking one of the best harbours in those parts. Besides, there was dug up near this place a coin of Constantine the great, which Sir Henry Spelman says was brought to him. Near this is Congham, honour'd with the birth of Sir Henry Spelman, that great oracle of the law, and a true patron of the clergy; and indeed the glory of the English nation. Below is Castle-acre, where formerly the earls of Warren dwelt, in a castle now ruinous, which stood upon a little river. The river is anonymous,

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\* Near, C.

ing not far from Godwicke, a lucky name, where is a small seat; but made great by the ornament it receiv'd from the famous Sir Edward Cooke, knt. a person of admirable parts; than whom as no one ever applied himself closer to the study of the common-law, so never did any one understand it better. Of which he fully convinc'd England, by his excellent administration for many years together, whilst attorney-general, and by executing the office of lord chief justice of the common-pleas and kings-bench, with the greatest wisdom and prudence. Nor did he give less proof of his abilities, in his commentaries upon our laws, whereby he has highly oblig'd both his own age, and posterity. Near Godwicke, is Rougham, once the seat of the Yelvertons; of whom, William, under Henry VI. Christopher under queen Elizabeth, and Henry under king Charles I were lords chief justices of England. The foremention'd little river glides gently westward to Linne, by Neirford, which gave name to the famous family of the Neirfords; and by Neirborough, where (near the seat of the knightly family of Spelman) is a strong and ancient military entrenchment upon a high hill, very conveniently situated for the defence of the neighbouring country. The termination of the name seems to suggest something of antiquity, and the place it self answers the name. For (besides the fortification) from hence to Oxburgh, there has been a military fosse, now levell'd in some places. And Sir Clement Spelman, in contriving an orchard at the foot of the hill, dug up the bones of men in great abundance and likewise old pieces of armour.

Next, Penteney is plac'd upon the same rivulet, a little religious house, which was formerly a common burying-place for the nobility of those parts.

Neighbour to this, is Wormegay, commonly Wrongey, which Reginald de Warren, brother of William de Warren second earl of Surrey, had with his wife; who (as I have read) was of the donation or marriage of the said earl, as they worded it in that age. By his son's daughter it presently went to the Bardolphs, noble and honourable barons, who flourish'd for a long time, and bore three cinquefoils or, on a field azure. A great part of their estate, together with the title, came to William Phellips, and by his daughter to the viscount Beaumont. More to the east, we see Swaffham, a famous market-town, formerly the possession of the earl of Richmond: Ashele-manour, in sight whereof the Hastings, and the Greys, lords of Ruthun, had formerly the oversight of the table cloaths and napkins made use of at the coronation

ronation of the kings of England: North-Elmham, where the bishops had their seat for some time, when the diocese was divided into two. This, till within these two ages, was never under the jurisdiction of any secular lord. For, under the Heathens, it is said to have been the habitation of a Flamin; and after their conversion to Christianity, by Felix, it came into the possession of the bishops. The see was first at Dunwich, but when it was thought too great for the management of one, it was divided into two dioceses, the one to reside at Dunwich for Suffolk, and the other at Elmham for Norfolk. Near this North-Elmham, have been lately discovered great quantities of urns; which had generally nothing in them but ashes, and pieces of broken bones.

Next, is Dereham (called also East-Dereham, and Market-Dereham,) where was buried Withburga, daughter of king Anna, who divorcing herself entirely from the luxury and levities of the world, and being a virgin of great sanctity, was by our ancestors canoniz'd a saint. Next to Dereham, is Gressenhall, with its neighbour Elsing; both, formerly, the possessions of the Folliots, persons of great honour in their time. By the daughter of Richard Folliot, they came to Hugh de Hastings of the family of Abergeuenny: And at length, by the daughters and heirs of Hugh Hastings the last, Gressenhall came to Hamon le Strange of Hunstanton, and Elsing to William Brown, brother of Anthony Brown, first viscount Montacute. In this quarter also is Ic-borough, which Talbot takes to be the Icliani, mention'd by Antoninus. Nor need I say any more about these parts.

I have now nothing to do, but to reckon up the earls and dukes of Norfolk, and so to go on to Cambridgeshire.

William the conqueror placed one Ralph over the country of the East-Angles, that is, the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire; but he was quickly depriv'd (as I observed before,) for attempting innovations in the state. Some years after, in the reign of king Stephen, Hugh Bigod was earl of Norfolk. For when a peace was concluded between Stephen and Henry of Anjou (afterwards Henry II.) it was expressly provided, that William, son of Stephen, should have the whole county of Norfolk (except, among other things, the third penny which belonged to Hugh Bigod as earl :) Whom, notwithstanding, king Henry II. afterwards made earl of the third penny of Norfolk and Norwic. In the 27th of Henry II. upon his death, his son Roger succeeded him, who, for I know not what reason, procur'd a new creation charter from Richard I. Roger was succeeded by his son Hugh, who married Mawd, eldest daughter and

heir of William Marshal, earl of Pembroke. By her, he had Roger, earl of Norfolk, and marshal of England, who having put his limbs out of joint at a tournament, died without issue; and Hugh Bigod, justiciary of England, and slain in the battle of Lewes, whose son Roger succeeded his uncle in the dignity of earl of Norfolk, and marshal. But when his insolent and stubborn behaviour had brought him under the displeasure of Edward I. he was forc'd to pass over his honours, and almost his whole estate, to the king, for the use of Thomas de Brotherton, the king's son by Margaret sister to Philip the fair, king of France. For so the account is in a history belonging to the library of St. Augustin's in Canterbury. In the year 1301, *Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, made king Edward his heir, and deliver'd up to him the marshal's rod, upon this condition, That if his wife bore him any children, all should be return'd, and he should hold it peaceably without any lett on the king's part. And the king gave him a thousand pounds in money, and a thousand pounds in lands for life, with the titles of marshal and earl.* But he dying without issue, king Edward II. by virtue of the surrender abovemention'd, honour'd his brother Thomas Brotherton with the titles of marshal, and earl of Norfolk. But his daughter Margaret (call'd lady marshal and countess of Norfolk, and married to John Lord Segrave,) was created dutchess of Norfolk for life by king Richard II. who at the same time created Thomas Mowbray (earl of Nottingham and grandchild to Margaret by a daughter) first duke of Norfolk to him and his heirs males; having before granted him the dignity and stile of earl marshal of England. This is he who accused Henry of Lancaster, earl of Hereford, to the king, for uttering reproachful and malicious words against his majesty. And when they were to try it by duel, a herald, by the king's authority, pronounced sentence at the very lists, that both should be banish'd, Lancaster for ten years, but Mowbray for life, who died at Venice, leaving two sons behind him in England. Of whom, Thomas, earl marshal and earl of Nottingham (for he had no other title) upon raising a conspiracy, was beheaded by Henry of Lancaster, who had then possess'd himself of the crown, under the name of Henry IV. But his brother and heir, John, by the favour of Henry V. was restor'd; and being, for some years after, stil'd only marshal, and earl of Nottingham, upon Henry VI's coming to the crown, was, in virtue of a patent granted by Richard II. as son of Thomas duke of Norfolk his father, and heir to Thomas his brother, declar'd duke of Norfolk, by authority of parliament. He was succeeded by his son John, who died in the first year of Edward IV. and he also by his son of that name, who in the life-time of his father was, by

Henry VI. created earl of Surrey and Warren. Whose only daughter Anne was married to Richard duke of York, king Edward IV's son, and with her; he received from his father the titles of Norfolk, earl marshal, Warren and Nottingham. But both he and his wife being taken away while very young, Richard III. king of England, conferr'd the title of duke of Norfolk, and the authority of earl marshal, upon John Howard, who was found kinsman and one of the heirs of Anne dutchess of York and Norfolk abovemention'd. For his mother was one of the daughters of the first Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, and king Edward IV. advanc'd him to the dignity of a baron. This John was kill'd in the battle of Bosworth, fighting valiantly for Richard against Henry VII. His son Thomas (who by creation from Richard III. was earl of Surrey) was by king Henry VIII. restor'd to his father's title of Norfolk, after he had routed the Scotch army at Flodden, wherein James I. king of Scots, was slain. In memory of which victory, it was granted to the family of the Howards, that in the middle of the white bend in their arms, there should be added, in an escutcheon or, a demy lion shot through the mouth with an arrow, within a double tressure adorn'd with hilies on both sides, gules: Which comes very near to the arms of the kings of Scotland. He was succeeded by his son Thomas, whom the \* last age saw toss'd about with the ebbs and flows of fortune. His grandchild Thomas, by his son Henry (which Henry was the first of our English nobility, that grac'd his high birth with the ornaments of learning) being attainted of high treason for endeavouring a match with Mary queen of Scots, and, in the year 1572, beheaded, was † the last of those more ancient dukes of Norfolk. From which time his posterity, as it were, lay dead; till, by the favour and bounty of king James I. they began to revive and flourish again. By the attainder of the last Thomas, the title of duke of Norfolk being taken away, Philip his eldest son was call'd only earl of Arundel, by descent from his mother: And he being attainted of high treason for favouring the Popish party, had the sentence of death pass'd upon him; but his execution being forborn, he died in the tower Anno 1595. His son and only child Thomas was created earl of Norfolk June 6, 20 Car. I. and died at Padua Anno 1646. leaving two sons, Henry and Thomas, of whom Henry succeeded his father; and he likewise was succeeded by Thomas his eldest son in his titles of earl of Arundel, Surrey, and Norfolk, who at the humble petition of several of the nobility, was, May 8, 13 Car. II. restor'd to the title of duke of Nor-

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\* Our own, C.

† The last duke, C.

folk. But he dying without issue, the honour descended to Henry lord Howard, his next brother, who was succeeded therein by Henry his eldest son; who leaving no issue, was succeeded by Thomas, son of Thomas his younger brother, in whom the honour at present remains.

There are in this county about 660 parish churches.

### More rare PLANTS growing wild in *Norfolk*.

*Atriplex maritima nostras Ocimi minoris folio.* Sea-orrache with small basil leaves. Found by Dr. Plukenet near King's-Lynne.

*Acorus verus sive Calamus Officinarum.* Park. The sweet-smelling flag, or calamus. Observed by Sir Thomas Brown in the river Yare, near Norwich. See the synonymes in Surrey.

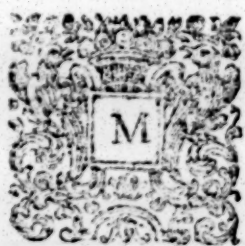
*Spongia ramosa fluvialis.* Branched river sponge. In the river Yare near Norwich.

*Turritis Ger. vulgatio J. B. Park. Brassica sylvestris foliis integris & hispidis C. B.* Tower-mustard. In the hedges about the mid-way between Norwich and Yarmouth.

*Verbascum pulverulentum flore luteo parvo J. B. an mas foliis angustioribus, floribus pallidis C. B.* Hoary mullein. About the walls of Norwich.

*Urtica Romana Ger. Park.* Roman nettle. At Yarmouth by the lanes sides not far from the key.

## CAMBRIDGESHIRE.



MORE into the in-land country, lies the county of Cambridge, by the Saxons call'd Grantabrycgscyr and Grantabrigg-scyre. It is now commonly call'd Cambridgeshire, and is stretch'd length-ways to the north, and borders upon Norfolk and Suffolk on the east, Essex and Hertfordshire on the south, Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire on the west, and Lincolnshire on the north. The river Ouse, running from west to east, crosses, and divides it into two parts. The south and lower part is more improv'd, better planted, and consequently more rich and fertile, than the other; sufficiently plain, but not quite level; chiefly, or indeed wholly (setting aside that part which produces plenty of saffron) consisting of corn fields, abundantly stor'd with the best barley, of which they make great quantities of byne or malt, by steeping it till it sprout again, and then drying it over a kiln: And this the English make their beer of. The inhabitants drive a gainful trade with it, into the neighbouring counties. The north and farther part, by reason of the floods, fens, and the many islands, is call'd the isle of Ely, abounds with rich pastures, exceeding fresh and pleasant, but hollow and spongy, by reason of the waters that undermine the soil; which also sometimes overflow, and drown the greatest part of it.

This county hath of late years had two very considerable improvements, of its soil, and air: The first by planting great quantities of saintfoine (which is brought from foreign parts, and thrives only in very dry and barren ground;) the second by draining the fens in the isle of Ely, a work that was carried on at vast expence, but has at last

turn'd

turn'd to double account, both in gaining much ground, and mending the rest; and also in refining and clearing the air of this country.

One of the Roman highways (call'd Ermingstreat in the Ely-book) runs along the west side of the lower part, and carries us directly to Huntingdon, by Royston, a town on the borders of the county, of some note, but of no antiquity, lying partly in Hertfordshire and partly in this county; of which we have spoken before: And likewise through Caxton, formerly the barony of Stephen de Eschallers, from whose posterity it descended to the Frevills in the time of Henry III. and from them, by the Burgoins, to the Jermins. Nor is Gamlinghay far off, the habitation formerly of the Avenells, whose estate came by marriage to the ancient family of St. George; a family, that since Henry I. has produc'd many worthy knights, who liv'd at Hatley, from them call'd Hatley St. George.

More westward, there is a little river which runs through the middle of this part, from south to north, to mix with the Ouse; rising at Ashwell, and passing with many windings by Shengay (where are the most pleasant meadows of the county,) formerly, a commandery of the knights templars, given to them by Sibyl, daughter of Roger Montgomery earl of Shrewsbury, and wife of J. de Raines, in the year 1130. A little way off, is Wimple, a seat of the lord Harley, by marriage with the heiress of John late duke of Newcastle; and Burne-castle, which was anciently the barony of one Picot, sheriff of this county, and also of the Peverills, by one of whose daughters the inheritance and honours came to Gilbert Peche; the last of which family, after he had advanced his second wife's children, made king Edward I. his heir. In those days, the English nobility brought up the ancient Roman custom in the time of their emperors, of making their princes their heirs, whenever they were out of favour. This castle was burnt down in the barons war in Henry III's time; being set on fire, by one Richard de Insula, or L'Isle; at which time, Walter of Cottenham, a great man, was hang'd for rebellion.

Near the same river, is Trumpington, where, in a place call'd Dam-hill, have been discover'd Roman urns, patera's, and other antiquities of that people; together with great numbers of human bones.

It is uncertain, by what name former writers call'd this river; some will have it to be Grant, but others Cam; which last to me seems most probable, both because it is so crooked (for so the British word Cam signifies; whence a crooked river in Cornwall is call'd Camel;) and also, because old Camboritum (a town mention'd by Antoninus in his

this

third journey in Britain) stood upon it, as I am perswaded both by its distance and name, and also by the great number of Roman coins, found nigh the bridge. For Camboritum signifies a ford over Cam, or a crooked ford; the word rith in the British language signifying a ford. I mention this, that the French may better understand the meaning of Angastoritum, Darioritum, Richomagus, &c. in their own country. However the Saxons chose to use Grant-cestre and Grant-cestre for our Camboritum; which name it still retains, but I cannot yet find the derivation of it. To derive it from a Saxon word Grant (a fenny place,) might prove a mistake; and yet Afferius, more than once, has call'd some fenny grounds in Somersetshire, *Gronas paludissimas*, which is a mixture of Saxon and Latin; and it is well known, that a city in West-Friezland, of the like situation, is call'd Groneingen. But let others hunt after the etymology of it. About the year 700, Bede saith, *This was a little desolate city, when he tells us, that just by its walls, was found a little trough or coffin of white marble delicately wrought, with a lid of the same, exactly fitted for it.* Now, it is a small village; part whereof Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln, gave to his bastard son Henry; on condition that his posterity (which have been long since extinct) should take no other name but Henry. King Henry VI. of the house of Lancaster, to whom the estate of earl Lacy fell, settled the other part upon his own college, call'd King's, in Cambridge; which town was either a limb, or the daughter of the ancient Camboritum; it is so nigh it in name and situation. Now am I apt to believe, that Cam was ever form'd out of Grant; for this is a change too forc'd and strain'd, where all the letters are lost but one. I should rather think, that the common people might keep to the old name of Camboritum, or the river Cam, though writers more commonly us'd the Saxon word Grantbridge; and it is suppos'd by some to be the Cair-Grauth, otherwise Grant, mention'd by Ninnias among the twenty-eight British cities. The Saxons also name it Grantanbyrge, Grantabridge, and Grantebrige.

This city, the other university, the other eye, and stay, of the kingdom, this famous magazine of learning and religion, stands on the river Cam; which, after it has made several pleasant little islands on the west side of it, turns to the east, and divides the town into two parts; so that it is join'd by a bridge, which hath given it that newer name of Cambridge. Beyond the bridge, are, a large old castle well nigh destroy'd by age;) and Magdalen-college. On this side the bridge (where lies the far greatest part of the town) there is a pleasant

prospect of well-contriv'd streets, of a good number of churches, and of sixteen fair colleges, wherein great numbers of worthy and learned men are maintain'd, and where the studies of arts and languages do exceedingly flourish; so that they may deservedly be term'd the fountains of religion and learning, which scatter their wholsome streams, through the gardens of church and state. Nor is there any thing wanting, that is requir'd in the most flourishing university; were not the air a little too gross, by reason of its fenny situation. But perhaps the first founders of it were of Plato's opinion; who being of a strong constitution himself, made choice of the academy for his studies (which was a very unwholsome place in Attica) the better to keep under the body, that it might not too much clog the brain. However, our ancestors, men of great wisdom, did, not without the divine direction, dedicate this place to learning and study, and adorn it with many noble buildings.

That we may not seem guilty of the worst sort of ingratitude to those eminent patrons of learning, or (to use Eumenius's words) those parents of our children; let us briefly, out of the Cambridge history, make mention of them, and their colleges, which they consecrated to literature and their own immortal fame. The story goes, that Cantaber a Spaniard, three hundred and seventy-five years before Christ, first founded this university, and that Sebert, king of the East-Angles, rector'd it in the year of our Lord 630. Afterwards, it lay a long time neglected, and was overthrown by the Danish storms, till all things recover'd under the Norman government. Soon after, inns, hostels, and halls, were built for students, tho' without endowments. But Hugh Balsham, bishop of Ely, founded the first college, call'd Peter-house, in the year 1284, and endow'd it. When he was only prior of Ely, he began the foundation of this house (about the year 1257,) without Trumpington-gate near the church of St. Peter; from whence it seems to have taken the name. But all the advantage which the scholars had at first, was only the convenience of chambers, which exempted them from those high rents that the townsmen had us'd to exact of them. The endowment (as we have said) was settled by the same Hugh, when bishop, in 1284, for a master, fourteen fellows, &c. which number might be increas'd or diminish'd, according to the improvement or abatement of their revenues.

His example was imitated by the following persons; Richard Bawley, with the help of the lady Elizabeth Clare, countess of Ulster, founded Clare-hall, in the year 1340; having before built a house

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call'd University-hall, wherein the scholars liv'd upon their own pence for sixteen years, till it was burnt down by a casual fire. The founder, finding himself unequal to the charge of rebuilding it, had the assistance of the said Elizabeth, third sister and coheir of Gilbert earl of Clare, through whose liberality it was built again, and endowed. It is, at present, one of the neatest and most uniform halls in the university; having been lately new built, all of free-stone.

The lady Mary St. Paul, countess of Pembroke, founded Pembroke hall, in the year 1347. She was third wife to Audomar de Valentia earl of Pembroke; and her husband being unhappily slain at a tournament on the wedding day, she entirely sequester'd her self from all worldly delights; and, devoting her self to God, amongst other pious acts, built this college, which was afterwards much augmented by the benefactions of others.

The society of friars in Corpus Christi founded Corpus Christi college, call'd also St. Benet's college, Anno 1346. This arose out of two guilds or fraternities; one of Corpus Christi, and the other of the Blessed Virgin. These, after long emulation, being united into one body, did by a joint interest build this college, which has its name from the adjoining church of St. Benedict. Their greatest modern benefactor was Matthew Parker, once master of the college, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, who, by his prudent management recover'd several rights of the college; and, besides two fellowships and five scholarships, gave a great number of excellent manuscripts to their library.

William Bateman, bishop of Norwich, founded Trinity-hall, about the year 1353. It was built upon a place, which once belong'd to the monks of Ely; and was a house for students before the time of bishop Bateman, who, by exchange for the advowsons of certain rectories got it into his own possession. He was a great master of civil and canon law; whereupon, the master, two fellows, and three scholars (the number appointed by him at the first foundation) were oblig'd to follow those two studies. It has been, since, much augmented by benefactions; and the number of its members is proportionably increas'd.

Edmund Gonevil, Anno 1348, and John Caius, doctor of rhetoric in \* our time, founded Gonevil and Caius-college: This was first

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\* So said, ann. 1607.

old Gonvil-hall, and was built upon the place, where now are the orchard and tennis-court of Bennet-college. But within five years, it was remov'd to the place where it stands at present, by bishop Bateman. Some time after, John Caius, doctor of physick, improv'd this hall into a new college, and call'd after his own name.

Henry VI. king of England, founded King's-college (with a chapel, deservedly reckon'd one of the finest buildings in the world,) in the year 1464. This college was at first but small; being built by the said king for a rector and twelve scholars. There was near it a little hostel for grammarians, built by William Bingham, which was granted by the founder to king Henry, for the enlargement of his college. Whereupon, he united these two, and, having enlarged them by addition of the church of St. John Achary, founded a college for a provost, seventy fellows and scholars, three chaplains, &c.

The lady *Margaret* of Anjou, his wife, founded Queen's-college, Anno 1468; but the troublesome times that follow'd, would not give her leave to compleat her fabrick. The first master of it, Andrew Ducker, by his industry and application, procur'd great sums of money from well-dispos'd persons, towards the finishing of this work; and so far prevail'd with queen Elizabeth, wife to king Edward IV. that she perfected what her predecessor's enemy had begun.

Robert Woodlark founded Katharine-hall, in the year 1459. He was third provost of King's-college; and the hall was built over-against the Carmelites house, for one master and three fellows; and the numbers were increas'd, together with the revenues. About one half of it is lately new-built; and, when it is finish'd, it will give place to none, in point of beauty and regularity.

John Alcocke, bishop of Ely, founded Jesu-college, Anno 1497, out of an old nunnery dedicated to St. Radegund; the nuns whereof were so notorious for their incontinence, and so generally complain'd of, that king Henry VII. and pope Julius II. bestow'd it upon John Alcocke, bishop of Ely, to convert it into a college; who establish'd in it a master, six fellows, and six scholars. But their numbers, by the great benefactions they have receiv'd, are much increas'd.

The lady *Margaret*, countess of Richmond, and mother to king Henry VII. founded Christ-college about the year 1506, upon the place where God's-house formerly stood. She settled there, a master, and twelve fellows, &c. which number, being complain'd of as favouring of superstition by alluding to our Saviour and his apostles, king Edward VI. alter'd, by the addition of a thirteenth fellowship; with some new scholarships. This college,

college, within the present century, or thereabouts, hath been adorn'd with a very fine new building.

She also founded St. John's about the year 1506, upon the place where Anno 1134, Nigel, or Neal, second bishop of Ely, founded an hospital for canons regular; which by Hugh de Balham was converted into a priory dedicated to St. John; and by the executors of the said countess of Richmond, into a college, under the name of the same saint. For she died before it was finish'd, which retarded the work for some time; but it was afterwards carried on by her said executors. It is now \* greatly enlarg'd with fair new buildings.

Thomas Awdley, lord chancellor of England, founded Magdalen-college, Anno 1542, since enlarg'd and endow'd by Sir Christopher Wren lord chief justice of England: This college is cut off from all the rest, and stands by it self on the north-west side of the river; and hath been improv'd and adorn'd by a handsome piece of new building, not many years since.

The most potent and mighty prince Henry VIII. founded Trinity-college Anno 1546, out of three others, St. Michael's-college, built by Hervie Stanton in Edward II's days; King's-hall, founded by Edward III; and Fishwick's-hofstel. And that the students might have a more delightful habitation, this college was repair'd, or rather new built, by the great care of T. Nevill, its worthy master, and dean of Canterbury, with that splendor and magnificence, that it is, for spaciousness, and for uniformity and beauty in the buildings, scarce inferior to any in Christendom; and he himself may be counted truly *Megaloprepes* (magnificent) in the judgment even of the greatest philosopher, for neglecting his own private interests and laying out such large sums on the publick. All which have since been improv'd by a most noble and stately library, begun under the government of the late famous and learned Dr. Isaac Barrow: A building, for the bigness and design of it, perhaps not to be match'd in these kingdoms.

That worthy and prudent person, Sir Walter Mildmay, founded a new college dedicated to Emanuel, in a place where was formerly a convent of Dominicans founded in the year 1280, by the lady Alice, countess of Oxford. After the suppression of monasteries, this convent came into the possession of Mr. Sherwood, of whom Sir Walter Mildmay seems to have purchas'd it. It has a very neat chapel, not long since built by the bounty of William Sancroft, late archbishop of Canterbury, and others.

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\* So said, ann. 1607.

Also the lady Frances Sidney, countess of Suffex, by her last will gave a legacy of five thousand pounds for the founding of a college to be call'd Sidney-Suffex. But tho' this college owes its rise to the charity of the said lady, and the care of her executors; it is exceedingly improv'd by the benefactions of Sir Francis Clerk, who (besides a set of new buildings by him erected,) augmented the scholarships, and founded four fellowships with eight scholarships more; and of Sir John Brereton, who left to it above two thousand pounds, by will.

The schools of this university were at first in private houses, hir'd from ten years to ten years for that purpose, by the university; in which time they might not be put to any other use. Afterwards, publick schools were built at the charge of the university, in or near the place where they now stand. But the present fabrick, as it is now built of brick and rough stone, was erected partly at the expence of the university, and partly by the contributions of several benefactors.

The library was built by Rotheram, archbishop of York, who (together with Tonstal, bishop of Durham) furnish'd it with choice books; few whereof are to be found at present. But it hath been exceedingly augmented by the bounty of king George I. who, having purchas'd a very large and most valuable collection of books, made with great judgment by Dr. John Moor, late bishop of Ely, did bestow it, as a mark of his royal favour, upon this university.

I shall say nothing of the little monasteries and religious houses; since they were but of small note; except Barnwell-Abbey, which Sir Payne Peverell, a famous soldier, and standard-bearer to Robert duke of Normandy in the holy war in Henry I's reign, remov'd from St. Giles's church (where Ricor the sheriff had instituted secular priests,) to this place, and introduced thirty monks, according to the years of his age at that time. If you please, you may know the reason of the name from the private history of this place. *Payne Peverell obtain'd a grant of Henry I. of a spot of ground without the burrough of Cambridge: In the midst of it, were extraordinary clear fountains or wells, call'd Barnwell, that is, the wells of children, or barns; for young men and boys met here once a year, upon St. John's eve, for wrestling and the like youthful exercises us'd in England, and also to make merry, with singing, and other mummings. By this concourse of boys and girls, who met here for sport, it grew to be a custom for a great many buyers and sellers to repair hither at the same time; and it is now commonly call'd Midsummer fair.*

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Tho' Cambridge was consecrated to the muses, yet has it not always escap'd the fury of Mars; for when the Danes ravaged up and down, they often took their winter-quarters here: And in the year 1006, when Sueno the Dane, with that desperate rage and fury, bore down all before him; neither its fame nor the muses could protect it (tho' we read that Athens met with a better fate from Sylla, than it was barbarously laid in ashes. However, at the coming-in of the Normans, it was reasonably well peopled; for we find, in Domesday-book, *that the burrough of Grentbridge is divided into ten wards, and contains three hundred and eighty-seven dwelling houses, but eighteen of them were pulled down to build the castle*; when William I. determin'd to erect castles in all parts, to be a curb to his new-conquer'd English. This castle was strong and stately, having in it, among other rooms, a most magnificent hall. The stones and timber were afterwards begg'd of Henry II. by the masters and fellows of King's-hall, towards the building of their chapel. Nothing is now standing but the gate-house, which is the prison; and an artificial high hill deeply entrench'd about, of a steep ascent, and level at the top.

Afterwards Roger of Montgomery destroy'd this town with fire and sword, to be reveng'd of William Rufus: but king Henry I. to repair those damages, bestow'd many privileges upon it; particularly, he took it from the power of the sheriff, making it a corporation, upon the payment of an hundred and one marks yearly into the exchequer; which sum the sheriff paid before, for his profits out of the town, when it was under his jurisdiction. And, what seems to have been of most consequence, the ferry over the river (which before was very large) began to be fix'd near this place: which probably might have something of the same effect, as the building of new bridges, and turning the course of roads, have had in other parts of England. It suffer'd very much afterwards, in the barons wars, by those out-laws from the isle of Ely. Wherefore Henry III. to put a stop to their incursions, order'd a deep ditch to be thrown up on the east side of the town, which still goes by the name of King's-ditch; whereof there is now but very little remains (houses being built on both sides of it, and among the inhabitants, the name it self seems to be clean forgotten).

Here, possibly some may expect my opinion concerning the antiquity of this university; but I shall not intermeddle in that point. Nor am I willing to make comparisons between our two famous universities; which have none to rival them, that I know of. I am afraid, those men have built castles in the air, who have made Cam-

the founder of this university, immediately after the building of Rome, and long before the time of Christ; straining the antiquity of it beyond all possibility of credit. This is undeniable (let its original be when it will) that it began to be a nursery of learning, about the reign of king Henry I. as appears by an old appendix of Peter Eleensis, to Ingulph. *Abbot Jossred* sent over to his manour of Cotenham nigh Cambridge, *Gislebert* his fellow-monk and divinity-professor, with three other monks, who follow'd him into England; and being well furnish'd with philosophical learning and other ancient sciences, they daily repair'd to Cambridge: Where they hir'd a publick barn, made open profession of the sciences, and in a little time drew a great number of scholars together. In less than two years, their number increas'd so much, out of all that country as well as the town, that there was not a house, barn, or church, big enough to hold them all. Upon which, they dispers'd themselves into several parts of the town, imitating the university of Orleans. Betimes, in the morning, frier Odo, an excellent grammarian, and satyrick poet, read grammar to the boys and younger sort, who were assign'd him, according to the doctrine of Priscian, and Remigius upon him. At one o'clock, Terricus, a subtle sophist, read Aristotle's logic to the elder sort, according to Porphyry's and Averroe's introductions and comments. At three of the clock, frier William read lectures in Tully's rhetoric and Quintilian's institutions; and Gislebert, the principal master, preach'd to the people, upon all Sundays and holidays. From this small fountain, we see large flowing streams, making glad the city of Ged, and enriching the whole kingdom with many masters and teachers, who came out of Cambridge as from the holy paradise, &c.

Concerning the time when it was first made an university, Robert of Remington shall speak for me. In the reign of Edward I. Grantbridge, from a study, was made an university like Oxford, by the court of Rome. Before which time, notwithstanding, in the 5<sup>th</sup> of Henry III. it is call'd Universitas scholarium, in the records of the tower.

But why do I so inconsiderately run into the lists, where two such learned old men have formerly encounter'd? To whom I freely deliver up my arms, paying the utmost respect and honour to such venerable persons. Cambridge is in longitude, 23 degrees 25 minutes; in latitude, 52 degrees, and \* 11 minutes.

A mile north of Cambridge, is Arbury, or Arborough (in the territories of Chesterton,) where is a large camp, of a figure inclining to a square.

\* 1°, more truly.

There have been Roman coins found in it; one particularly of silver, with the head of Rome on one side, and, on the reverse, Castor and Pollux on horseback. The adjoining Chesterton has probably its name from this camp or old castrum.

Near by Cambridge to the south-east, are certain high hills, by the ancients call'd Gogmagog-hills, and by Henry of Huntingdon, the most pleasant hills of Balsam, from a village at the foot of them; where, as he adds, the Danes committed all the barbarities imaginable. On the top of all, I saw an entrenchment of considerable bigness, fortified with a three-fold rampire, and impregnable in those days (according to the opinion of several judicious warriors) were it not for its want of water; and some believe, it was a summer retreat, of the Romans, or the Danes. But others think, it was rather a British work. It has two grasses between the three rampires (as the usual way was;) being rudely circular: And the diameter is no less than two hundred and forty-six paces. It is on the hill (as the British way of encampment was;) and it is probable enough, that the antagonist to it might be at Arborough; which, from the form, coins, and nearness of water (a thing that that people was always particularly careful of) must have been the work of the Romans. Near the camp, there runs a Roman high-way from the brow of the hill southwards: Which, I suppose (together with the Roman coins, found there in digging, Anno 1685.) induc'd the author of the late Commentary upon Antoninus, to reckon it a work of the Romans; not regarding the circular figure: Inasmuch as it appears, both from Vegetius, and from several instances in other parts of England, that the Romans did not confine their camps to a square, but departed from that, according as the nature and conveniences of the ground required.

This camp seems to be the place that Gervase of Tilbury calls Vandelbiria; *Below Cambridge, says he, there was a place call'd Vandelbiria, because the Vandals, when they ruin'd some parts of Britain, and cruelly destroyed the Christians, did encamp there; pitching their tents on the top of a little hill, where lies a plain, surrounded with trenches, with only one entrance, and that like a gate.* As for the Martial ghost walking here, which he there mentions; I shall say nothing of it, because it looks like an idle story of the common people. It is none of my business (as a certain author expresses it) to tickle mens ears with plausible stories. In a vale near these hills, lies Salton, which came to Sir John Nevill, marquiss of Montacute, from the Burghs of Burgh-green, by Walter de la Pole and the Ingoldthorps; and by his daughter, and heir, to the Huddlestons, who liv'd here in great repute.

More eastward, we meet with Hilderham, belonging formerly to the Parishes, and \* after that by marriage to the Parishes; and next the woods stands Horsheath, known, for many descents, to have belong'd to the ancient and noble families of the Argentons and Alingtons, which I mention'd in † another place; and now the seat || of the Bromfords. Next this, lies Castle-camps, the ancient seat of the Veres, earls of Oxford, *held by Hugh Vere* (says an old inquisition) *on condition that he should be chamberlain to the king.* However, it is most certain, that Henry I granted this office to Aubrey de Vere, in these words, — *of chamberlain of England in fee and hereditarily; with all the powers, privileges, and honours belonging thereunto, as freely and honourably, as ever Robert Mallet held it, &c.* But our kings, at their own pleasure, have appointed sometimes one, and sometimes another, to execute this office. Not far from hence, are those great and long ditches which were undoubtedly thrown up by the East-Angles to keep out the Mercians, who us'd by sudden incursions to ruin all before them. The first begins at Hinkelston, and runs eastward by Hilderham towards Horsheath for five miles together. The second, next to it, call'd Brent-ditch, runs from Melborne by Fulmer. But it is now time to return, since these and the like frontier fences will be spoken of in their proper places. Nigh Cambridge to the east, by a small brook call'd Sture, there is every year in September the most famous fair in the whole kingdom, both for resort of people and proportion of wares. Hard by, where the ways were exceeding troublesome and almost impassable, that worthy right honest gentleman Henry Hervy, doctor of laws, and master of Trinity-hall in Cambridge, with vast charge, and a very pious and commendable design, \*\* made a fair rais'd causey about three miles long, ending to Newmarket

At the end of this causey, there is a third ditch, thrown up in ancient times; beginning at the east side of the Cam, and running in a straight line by Fenn-Ditton (or rather Ditchton from the foremention'd ditch,) between great Wilberham and Fulburn, as far as Balsham. At present, it is commonly call'd Seven-mile-dyke, because it lies seven miles from Newmarket: Formerly it was call'd Fleam-Dyke, that is, Fleam-Dyke, as it seems from some remarkable flight at this place. The same Wilberham, anciently Wilburgham, was formerly the seat of the barons L'Isle of Rougemount, a very ancient family, of which,

\* now, C.

† Hertfordshire.

|| Of the Alingtons, C.

\*\* Lately made, C.

John, for his warlike valour, was made one of the knights of the garter, in the first institution, by king Edward III. There is \* now a heir-male of the same family (a reverend old man with a good stock of children, nam'd Edmund Lille,) lord of this place.

Five miles more inward to the east, and a mile and half from Newmarket, is the fourth fortification or ditch with a rampart, and the graff towards Cambridge. This is the largest of all; call'd Dere Dyke by the common people, because they look upon it as the work of devils rather than men: And Rech-Dyke by others, from Rech, a little market-town at the beginning of it. Without doubt, this is the same, that Abbo Floriacensis speaks of, in his description of the East-Angles: *On that side where the sun declines to the west, this province joins to the rest of the island, and consequently there is a clear open passage; but to prevent the enemies frequent incursions, it is defended by a bank, like a high wall, and by a deep ditch.* This, for many miles together, crosses the plain call'd Newmarket-heath, a place very much expos'd to invasion, beginning at Rech, beyond which the country is fenny and impassable, and ending hard by Cowlidge, where the woods stop all marches. It was then the bounds of the kingdom, as well as of the bishoprick of the East-Angles; whereupon, the parishes on the east side of it (about ten or eleven in number) do still belong to the bishoprick of Norwich tho' placed within the county of Cambridge.

It is uncertain who was the founder of this mighty work; some other writers ascribe it to king Canutus the Dane; tho' in truth Abbo who mentions it, died before Canutus began his reign; and the Sax chronicle, where it treats of Athelwolf's rebellion against Edward the elder, calls it simply the ditch, and says, that king Edward destroy'd all the country between the ditch and the Ouse, as far as the north extends, and that Athelwold the rebel, and Eohric the Dane, were at that time slain there in battle. But writers since Canutus's time, have call'd it St. Edmund's Liberty, and St. Edmund's Ditch, supposing Canutus made it; who was a most devout adorer of St. Edmund, a martyr, and, to make amends for his father Swane's horrid cruelty to the religious of St. Edmundsbury, granted them vast privileges, as to this very ditch; whence William of Malmesbury, in his book of the prelates, says, *That the custom-officers in other places fall out much without considering right or wrong; but on this side St. Edmund's ditch,*

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\* So said, ann. 1607. but the Lilles are here extinct.

*edest suppliant immediately put a stop to all quarrels.* Sure enough, the two last mention'd bulwarks were call'd St. Edmund's ditches; for Matthew Florilegus declares, that that battel against Athelwolf, was fought between St. Edmund's two ditches,

Near Rich, lies Burwell, where was a castle, which in those troublesome times of king Stephen was bravely attack'd by Geoffry Mandevill earl of Essex (a person who lost much honour by his unjust invasions of other mens rights,) till an arrow, shot through his head, freed those countries from the fears and terrors they had long been under. Scarce two miles off, stands Lanheath, for many years the seat of that worthy family of knights the Cottons: and, at a little distance from that, lies Isleham, a town formerly belonging to the Bernards, which came by marriage to the knightly family of the Peytons, from whose male-line sprang the Uffords (from whom are the Uffords earls of Suffolk,) as appears by their coats of arms; tho', indeed, they took the surname of Peyton, according to the custom of those times, from Peyton a little town in Suffolk; which was their seat for many years.

Upon the same ditch, stands Kirtling, call'd also Catlidge; remarkable for being the principle seat of the barons North, of which family, Edward North was the first, whom queen Mary, for his extraordinary wisdom, invested with that title. It is famous for a great synod said to be held here, when the clergy had that mighty contest about the celebration of Easter; if indeed it was held here, and not (as others contend) at Kirtleton in the county of Oxford. For the Saxon Annals place it at Kyntlingtune, by a mistake from Kyntlingune; which is infer'd, not only from the similitude of n and r, but also from the copyist's not understanding the language (for it is taken out of the Canterbury-copy;) and from our later historians calling it Kyrtlinge, Kirding, and Kirling. As to the difference then between the old and new name, that is inconsiderable; and we are told that Sideman bishop of Devonshire (for so he is there stil'd) dy'd at this synod, and was bury'd at St. Mary's at Abingdon. Now, say they, he had no relation to that church, and therefore we may imagine, the only reason why king Edward and archbishop Dunstan pitch'd upon it for his burial, was the nearness of the place; especially, seeing they did it contrary to his own express desire when alive, which was, that he might be inter'd at his own church of Cridiantum or Kirton. But, they add, that if he had dy'd at Catlidge, they might have found a more convenient monastery for that purpose, I mean Peterborough, no less

eminent and much nearer; unless Abingdon might be more eligible upon this account, that it was within the kingdom of the West-Saxons.

The upper and north-part of this shire is all-over divided into river-isles (branch'd-out by the many flowings of ditches, chanelis, and drains,) which all the summer-long afford a most delightful green prospect; but in winter are almost all laid under water, further every way than one can see, and in some sort resembling the sea it self.

The inhabitants of this and the rest of the fenny country (which reaches sixty-eight miles from the borders of Suffolk to Wainfleet in Lincolnshire, containing some millions of acres in the four counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton, and Lincoln) were called *Gir-vii* in the time of the Saxons, that is, as some interpret it, *Fen-men*; a sort of people (much like the place) of rugged uncivilized tempers, envying others whom they term *Upland-men*, and usually walking aloft upon a sort of stilts: They all keep to the business of grazing, fishing, and fowling. All this country, in the winter-time, and sometimes for the greatest part of the year, is laid under-water by the rivers Ouse, Grant, Nen, Welland, Glene, and Witham, for want of sufficient chanelis and passages. But when these keep to their proper chanelis, it so strangely abounds with grass and a sort of rank hay (by them call'd *Lid*;) that when they have mow'd enough for their own use, in November they burn the rest, to make it come again the thicker. About which time, one sees all this moorish country in a flame, to his great wonder and surprise. Besides, it affords great quantities of turf and sedge for firing, and reeds for thatching; and elders also and other water-shrubs, especially willows in great abundance, either growing wild, or set on the banks of rivers to prevent overflowing: Which being frequently cut down, rise again (to use Pliny's expression) with a very numerous off-spring. It is of these that baskets are made, both here and in other places: And, since the Britains call'd them *baskades*, I here observe by the way, that I do not understand Martial in that place of his *Apophoreta*, if he mean not these:

*Barbara de pictis veni Bascauda Britannis,  
Sed me jam mavult dicere Roma suam.*

From Britain's farthest isle the baskets come,  
Which now are challeng'd, as her own, by Rome.

Besides, there grow large quantities of scordium or water-germander, upon the banks of the ditches. As for these fenny isles, Felix, an ancient writer, has describ'd them thus; *There is a wonderful large fen, beginning at the banks of the River Gront, and abounding, here with sedge, there with dusky springs, at a third place with woody isles; and it takes a long course by many crooked banks, from south to north, as far as the sea.* It is the same, that William, a Crowland-monk, has thus describ'd in his life of Guthlake:

*Est apud Angligenas a Grontæ flumine, longo  
Orbe per anfractus stagnosus; & fluviales,  
Circumfusa palus, orientalisque propinqua  
Littoribus pelagi, sese distendit ab Austro  
In longum versus Aquilonem, gurgite tetro  
Morbosos piscens vegetans, & arundine densa  
Ventorum strepitus, quasi quædam verba, susurrans.*

In British lands where Gront's old streams surround  
The trembling marshes and unfaithful ground,  
From south to north is stretch'd a spacious moor  
Near to the ocean on the eastern shore;  
Where poisonous fish the stinking water breeds,  
And rustling wind still whistle in the weeds.

If you please, add thus much out of Henry of Huntingdon: *This fen-country is mighty rich and delightful, plentifully water'd by rivers, sufficiently garnish'd with lakes of all sorts, and as much adorn'd with woods and lands.* — Take also, for a conclusion, this short account out of William of Malmesbury: *Here is such vast store of fish, as astonishes all strangers; for which the inhabitants laugh at them: Nor is there less plenty of water-fowl; and for a single half-penny, five men may have enough of either, not only to stay their stomachs, but for a full meal.*

I shall say nothing of the sound and wholesome advice concerning the draining of these fens (which yet was perhaps nothing but a specious pretence of doing good to the publick for private ends) that has been so often consider'd, and debated in parliament. It is to be fear'd, that they would soon return to their old state, as the Pontine marshes in Italy have often done since their draining. So that some think the safest way, to follow the oracle's advice in the like case, not to venture too far, where Heaven has put a stop.

The

The natural strength of this tract, with the great plenty of provisions, has often made it a retreat for rebels; not only for the English against William the conqueror; but the barons also, whenever they were out-law'd, from hence molested our kings but were always unsuccessful, though they erected forts at Eryth and Athered, now Audre, where is an easy open passage into the isle. And to this day, there is a rampire nigh Audre, not high, but very large; call'd Belisar's-hill, from one Belisar; but who or what he was, I know not.

The more southerly and the largest part of that fenny country which belongs to this shire, was call'd by the Saxons Ely, now the isle of Ely, from the chief of these islands. Bede derives it from Eels, and therefore some have call'd it the Isle of Eels, [and we find, that in the year 1221, king Henry III. being at Oxford, sent to the Bailiff of Cambridge, as living near Ely (the staple for fish) to send him a certain proportion of Eels for the provision of his court, promising that it should be discounted to him out of the exchequer.] Yet Polydore Virgil fetches it from *Elos*, which signifies a marsh; and others from *Helig*, a British word signifies willows or fallows, which it bears in abundance; and indeed they are the only thriving trees here. We find, that one Tombert king of the South Girvii, settled the greatest part of this country upon his wife Etheldred for a joynture; who after she had left her second husband Egfrid king of Northumberland, for the sake of religion founded a nunnery in that chief isle that was properly called Clyg, and was then valu'd after the rate of six hundred families; of which place she her self was the first Abbess. However, this was not the first church in this fenny country; for the Ely-book mentions St. Austin as the founder of a church at Cradiden, which afterwards was pull'd down by Penda the Mercian; and Malmesbury says, that Foelix, bishop of the East-angles, had his first seat at Soham, which is still in Norwich-diocese. Soham, says he, *is a village situated by a lake formerly very dangerous to water-passengers from thence to Ely, but now passable on foot, by reason of a causey made through the marshes and reeds. There are still the marks of a church demolish'd by the Danes, wherein the inhabitants were overwhelm'd, and burnt with it.* At the same time, St. Audry's nunnery was pull'd down by the Danes; but was rebuilt by Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, who, by agreement with the king bought the whole isle, ejected the priests, and fill'd it with monks; to whom king Edgar, as we find in his letters patents, gave jurisdiction in secular causes over two hundreds in the fens, and over five hundreds and half, out of the fens, in the Wicklaw, in the province of the East-angles.

which to this day is call'd St. Andry's Liberty. After that, our kings and noblemen endow'd it with large revenues; especially earl Brithnoth, who being about to engage the Danes in the year 999, gave to the church of Ely, Somersham, Spaldwic, Trumpington, Ratindum, Heisbur, Fulburn, Tmerston, Triplestow, and Impetum, in case he dy'd in that battel; because these monks had treated him nobly. But he was kill'd at Maldon, after he had fought with the Danes fourteen days together. It was so rich a monastery, that the Abbot (says Malmesbury) put fourteen hundred pounds yearly in his pocket. And Richard the last abbot, earl Gillebert's son (intoxicated, as it were, with wealth, and disdaining to be under the bishop of Lincoln,) endeavoured to persuade the king with golden promises (as the monks write) and with great applications, to erect a bishoprick at this place; but his death hinder'd that design. Soon after, Henry I. got leave of the Pope, and made Hervy (bishop of Bangor in Wales, who had been ejected by the Welsh) the first bishop of Ely; to whom and his successors, he assign'd Cambridgeshire for the diocese, which before was part of that of Lincoln; and likewise settled upon them certain marks of sovereignty in these islands. So that here the bishop hath all the rights of a county-palatine, and beareth chief sway therein: For by his own power he appointeth a judge to hear and determine all causes arising within the said isle. He holdeth assizes, gaol-delivery, and quarter-sessions of the peace for the said Liberty, and hath his chief bailiff, and under-bailiffs for the execution of process. The same Henry I. gave the bishops of Lincoln the manour of Spaldwic, to make them amends for the loss of Cambridgeshire and this isle; or, as the Ely-book has it, the manour of Spaldwic was settled upon the church of Lincoln for ever, in lieu of the episcopal care over Grantbridgeshire. As soon as Hervy was settled in his bishoprick, he made it his chief care to raise the grandeur of his church. He got it to be made toll-free in all places (saith Ely-book,) and freed it from that burthen of watching and warding; which was the duty that it ow'd to Norwich-castle: He made the way from Exning to Ely, about six miles, through the fens, and purchas'd many fair estates for the church's use. His successors, by lessening the number of monks (for from seventy they reduc'd them to forty) abounded with plenty of every thing, and overflow'd with wealth, until the last age; and their holidays and festivals were always celebrated with such mighty preparation and pomp, that, in that point, they exceeded all the monasteries in England. Whence a poet in those times not improperly says,

*Prævisis aliis, Eliensa festa videre,  
Esi, quasi prævisis nocte, videre diem.*

After all others see but Ely's feast,  
You'll see glad day when tedious night is past.

The cathedral al'o, which began to totter with age, they rebuilt by degrees, and brought it to the magnificence we now see: it is a spacious, stately, and beautiful structure, but somewhat defac'd by breaking down and mangling the noblemens and bishops tombs, in a very shameful manner. At present, instead of the full convent of monks, there is a dean, prebendaries, and a free-school for the teaching and maintaining of twenty-four boys, and, of later years, a stately palace hath been built here, for the bishops. There are four things about this church, much talk'd of by the common people; the lantern, on the top of all, just over the quire, supported by eight pillars, built with singular art by John de Hothum the bishop: St. Mary's chappel, standing under the church to the north, a delicate piece of work, and built by Simon Montacute bishop. A great round heap of earth and very high, call'd the Mount, on the south-side, where a wind-mill stands: And lastly, a famous fruitful vine; but now wither'd away. Which four were join'd together in these rhimes by a certain monk of the place:

*Hæc sunt Eliæ, Lanterna, Capella Mariæ,  
Atque Molendinum, necnon dans vinea Vinum.*

Saint Mary's chapel you at Ely see,  
The lofty lantern rival of the sky,  
The mill and vine that bread and drink supply.

As for Ely it self, it is a pretty large city, but not remarkable either for beauty or populousness, by reason of its fenny situation and unwholsom air.

Amidst the same fens, to the north-west, was another famous abby, call'd, from its standing among bushes and thorns, Thorney: and before that, Ankerige, from the Anchorites dwelling there; where Sexulph, a very religious and devout man (as it is in the Peterborough-book) founded a monastery, with hermits cells. It was afterwards destroyed by the Danes, but Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, to encourage

rage the monastick way of living, rebuilt it, stored it with monks, and encompass'd it with trees. "This place (says Malmesbury) is the very picture of Paradise; for pleasantness, resembling Heaven it self: Amidst the very marshes, fruitful in trees, whose strait tapering tallness mounts up to the skies; a plain (smooth as water) charms your eyes with pleasing greens, where is no rub to stop or hinder the swiftest pace. There is not an inch of ground incultivated; here, a place swelling with apple-trees, and there a field overspread with vines, either creeping upon the ground, or supported with poles. A mutual strife there is between nature and art, that one may always supply what the other forgets. What shall I say of the beauty of the buildings; much to be admir'd, if it were only for the fenns making such solid and unshaken foundations? It is a wonderful solitary and retir'd place; fit for monks, as making them more mindful of heavenly things, and more mortify'd to things below. It is a prodigy, to see a woman here; but when a man comes, he is welcomed like an angel. So that I may truly call this isle, a lodge of chastity, an harbour of honesty, and a school of divine philosophy.

Wisbich the bishop of Ely's castle, stands about thirteen miles off, situated among fenns and rivers, and in the last age a prison for the Romish priests. And I have nothing more to say of it, but only, that this town and Walepole were both given to Ely-monastery by the owner of them, at the same time that he dedicated his young son Alwin to a monastick life there; that William I. erected a castle here, when the out-laws made their incursions from these fenny parts; and, that in the year 1236, the tempestuous waves, for two days together, broke in upon this shore so violently, that they drowned both land and people, all about. But the Brick-castle that is still there, was built by John Morton bishop of Ely, in our grandfathers days; who also drew through this fenny country a strait ditch, call'd Newleame, for the better convenience of water-carriage, and thereby the encreasing the trade and wealth of this his town; tho' it has fal'n out otherwise, for it is but of small use, and the neighbours complain that this has quite stop'd the course of the Avon or Nen into the sea, by Clow-crofs.

The first earl of Cambridge, was William, brother of Ranulph earl of Chester; as may be seen in a patent of Alexander bishop of Lincoln, dated 1139. After him, it is probable that those earls of Huntingdon, who were of the blood royal of Scotland, were likewise earls of Cambridge; for it appears from the publick records, that David earl of Huntingdon receiv'd the third penny of the county of Cambridge. A

long time after, John of Hainault, brother to William the first earl of Holland and Hainault, was advanc'd to this dignity by Edward II. for the sake of his wife Q. Philippa, whose kinsman he was. For he is also, the same king honour'd William marquiss of Juliers, her sister's son, with the same title, after John had revolted and gone over to the French. After the decease of these foreigners, king Edward III. settled this honour upon his fifth son Edmund of Langley, which, after he had held it four years (my authority is an old manuscript belonging to that admirable antiquary Francis Thinn) the earl of Hainault, queen Philippa's kinsman, came and openly claim'd in parliament; but he return'd satisfi'd at last. This Edmund of Langley, afterwards duke of York, had two sons, Edward duke of York (for some time earl of Cambridge, and slain in the battle of Agincourt;) and Richard, created earl of Cambridge by the meer favour of Henry V. and the consent of his own brother Edward. But after this perfidious and ambitious man had ungratefully conspir'd against the life of that best of princes, and so lost his head; the title of earl of Cambridge was either lost with him, or drown'd among the titles of his son Richard, who was afterwards duke of York, and was restor'd to all his dignities, as being kinsman and heir to his uncle Edward duke of York. The same title was confer'd upon James marquiss of Hamilton in the year 1619, who was succeeded by James his eldest son, and afterwards by William his second son; who receiv'd a mortal wound at Worcester-fight, and dy'd without issue male surviving: So that the honour died with him. After the restoration, this title was confer'd upon Charles Stuart (eldest son to James then duke of York) who was stil'd duke of Cambridge; and afterwards upon his three brothers, James, Edgar, and Charles, who all died young.

This shire contains 163 parishes.

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### More rare PLANTS growing wild in *Cambridgeshire*.

*K. Acinos Anglicum* Clus. English stone-basil, or common stone basil; for these differ only accidentally. In the plowed lands on the borders of Gogmagog hills and Newmarket-heath.

*St. Aloe palustris* C. B. i. e. *Militaris aizoides* Ger. Water fengreen, or freshwater-soldier. In the rivers and fen-ditches in many places of the Isle of Ely: As in the river and ditches near Stretham-ferry, and about Audrey-causey.

*Alfne tenuifolia* J. B. Fine-leav'd chickweed. In the corn-fields on the borders of Triplow-heath, and elsewhere.

*Alysson Germanicum echinoides* Lob. *Aparine major* Ger. German mad-wort or great goose-grass. It once grew plentifully at New-market (*vid. Cat. Cant.*) but being an annual plant, I hear it is now lost there: Possibly it may appear again hereafter.

*K. Anagallis aquatica rotundifolia* Ger. *aquat tertia* Lob. Round-leaved water-pimpernel. On Taversham, Hinton, and Trumpington-moors in the ditches, and by the water-courses plentifully.

*Anagallis fœmina* Ger. *caruleo flore* C. B. Park. Female or blue-flower'd pimpernel. In the corn on the left-hand of the way leading to Histon a little beyond the first closes.

*Aparine minor semine læviore*. Goose-grass with smoother seed. Very common among the corn, especially in chalky ground. *Q. An Aparine semine lævi* Park.

*E. Argemone capitulo longiore glabro* Morison. Long smooth-headed bastard-popy. In the corn.

*Asteron supinum villosum palustre* C. B. Park. Marsh S. Peter's-wort, with hoary leaves. On the boggy grounds near Gamlingay.

*Auricula muris pulchro flore albo* J. B. *Caryophyllus holosteus* Ger. *holosteus arvensis hirsutus, flore majore* C. B. *holosteus arvensis hirsutus* Park. Long-leav'd rough chickweed with a large flower. On Heaths and dry banks among bushes, and in gravelly ground. See *Cat. Cant.*

*Bifolium palustre* Park. Marsh Twayblade. On the boggy and fenny grounds near Gamlingay.

# HUNTINGDONSHIRE



T the back of Cambridgeshire lies the county of Huntingdon, by the Saxons call'd Huntandunescyre and Huntedunescyre, by the later writers, Huntedunescire and Huntyndonschyre commonly Huntingdonshire; situated so, as to have Bedfordshire on the south, Northamptonshire on the west and likewise on the north (where they are parted by the river Avon,) and Cambridgeshire on the east. It is of very small extent, scarce stretching out itself twenty miles, tho' measur'd to the best advantage. It has been a observation upon this county, that the families of it have been worn out, that tho' it has been very rich in gentry, yet but few names of any note are remaining, which can be drawn down beyond the reign of the last Henry. The cause of such decay in places near London, is plain enough; *viz.* the many temptations to luxury, and the great wealth of merchants, always ready to supply the extravagances of the nobility and gentry. But this cannot hold so well here so that we must consider, whether a reason brought by a later author will not solve it, *viz.* That, most of the county being abby-land; upon the dissolution, many new purchasers planted themselves herein; and perhaps their new possessions might have the same fate here, that church revenues have had in other places, where they fell into lay-hands. It is a very good corn-country; and for feeding-ground, the fenny part of the east is exceeding fat: The rest is mighty pleasant, by reason of its swelling hills, and shady groves; for in ancient times it was all wood, according to the report of the inhabitants. That it was a forest

till Henry II. deforested it in the beginning of his reign, is evident by an old survey (all, except Waybridge, Sapple, and Herthei, which were woods of the lords demain, and do still remain a forest :) And Sir Robert Cotton (who had himself design'd a history of this county) says this was never fully effected till the time of Edward I. For altho; Henry II. did pretend to enfranchise his subjects of this shire from the servitude of his beasts, except Waybridge, Sapple and, Herthy, his own demains; yet such were the encroachments of the succeeding reigns, that the poor inhabitants were forced to petition for redress; which was granted them by the great charter of Henry III. Only, his son resum'd the fruits of his father's kindness; till, in the 29th year of his reign, he confirm'd the former charter, and left no more of this shire, forest, than what was his own ground.

The government of the county is very peculiar; Cambridgeshire, in the civil administration, being join'd to it: So that there is but one high-sheriff for both shires. He is chosen out of Cambridgeshire, one year; out of the Isle of Ely, a second; and the third, out of this shire. In the Isle of Ely, he is chosen out of the north-part, one time; and out of the south, another.

The river Ouse, which I have so often mention'd, washes the south-part, and decks it with flowers. Besides other meaner places, there stand three towns of note upon this river, after it has left Bedfordshire and enters this county. The first is St. Neots, call'd in the Saxon annals St. Neod, and commonly St. Needs; from one Neotus, a learned and pious person, who spent his life in propagating the christian religion: His body was remov'd from Neotstock in Cornwall to this place; in honour of whom, Alfrick converted earl Elfrid's palace into a monastery, which Rosia, the wife of Richard lord of Clare, soon after the coming-in of the Normans, endow'd with many fair estates. Before that, this place was call'd Ainulphsbury, from one Ainulph another saint; which name a part of the town still retains. At Hailweston, a small village somewhat lower, are two small springs, one fresh and the other a little blackish; one good for scabs and leprosy, as the inhabitants say, and the other for dimness of eyes. A little way further, the Ouse runs by Bugden, a handsome palace of the bishops of Lincoln; and so by Hunchingbroke, formerly a nunnery (which was remov'd by William the conqueror from Eltesley in Cambridgeshire, to this place) and since the seat of the Cromwells, knights; but now of the earl of Sandwich, to whom it affords the title of viscount, as Neots doth that of baron. From thence it runs to

Hun-

### 318 HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

Huntingdon, by the Saxons Huntandun, according to Marianus and also Huntendune, and Huntenduneport; in the publick seal Huntersdune, that is (according to Henry arch-deacon of this place, who flourish'd five hundred years ago) the down or mountain of hunters; from whence they have a huntsman in their arms. Our country-man Leland has upon this account coin'd that new Latin name, Venantodunum; and also tells us, that in his time they had an ancient coin, dug-up not far from the town, with the picture of a hound on the one side, but that the inscription was not legible. This is the chief town of the whole county, and gives name to it; it excels the towns about it (says the same arch-deacon) for its pleasant situation, its handi-ness and beauty, the convenience of the fens just by, and the great advantage of hunting and fishing. In the reign of Edward the confessor, as it is in Domestday book, this burrough was divided into four serlings; two of them had one hundred and sixteen burgessees that paid custom and gelt, and under them one hundred bordarii; the other two had one hundred and eleven burgessees, who paid all the king's customs and gelts. It stands on the north-side of the Ouse, on a rising ground; reaching lengthways to the north, and adorn'd anciently with fifteen churches, and of later days with four; which were reduced in the late civil wars to two; and heretofore with a small abby, founded by the emprefs Maud and Eustace Leveroft, the ruins whereof I saw out of the town Eastward. By the side of this river, nigh the fair Free-stone bridge, there is a mount, and ground-plot of a castle, built anew in the year 917 by Edward the elder, or (as others gather from Domestday) by William the conqueror; and enlarg'd with several new works by David king of Scots, to whom king Stephen had given the burrough of Huntingdon for an augmentation of his estate, as an ancient historian has it; and lastly demolish'd to the ground by Henry II. as well because it was a refuge to rebellion, as to prevent the quarrels between the Scots and the St. Lizes about it; which made him swear in a great passion, that he would leave no cause of contention to either party. By the foresaid number of churches in ancient times, it appears to have been once a very flourishing town. And the cause of its decay, seems to have been the alteration made in the river, by Grey (a minion of the time, as my author calls him) who procur'd the passage of it to be stop'd, whereas, before, to the great advantage of the inhabitants, it had been navigable as far as this town. King John granted it, by charter, a peculiar coroner, profit by toll and custom, a recorder, town-clerk, and two bailiffs; but at present

it is incorporated by the name of a mayor, twelve aldermen and bur-  
gesses; and the river is made navigable by smaller vessels, as high as  
Bedford. From the castle-hill, there is a large prospect, from whence  
we see a meadow encompass'd with the Ouse, call'd Portsholme, ex-  
ceeding large (and a more glorious one the sun never saw) to which  
in the spring-time this verse may be well apply'd:

*Ver pingit vario gemmantia prata colore.*

Kind spring with various colours paints the meads.

This pleasant scene, as if contriv'd on purpose by some painter, per-  
fectly charms one's eye. On the other side of the river, over-against  
Huntingdon, and as it were the mother that brought it forth, stands  
Gormancester, now call'd Goodmanchester. A large country-town  
eminent for tillage, and situated on a free open ground, declining  
to the sun. Nor is there a town in the kingdom that has a greater  
number of lusty stout husbandmen, or keeps more plows a going; and  
they brag that they have formerly entertain'd the kings of England  
in their progress, with a rustick show of ninescore plows at once.  
Certainly, there are none in the nation that more advance husbandry  
(which Columella calls wisdom's cousin) either in respect of their skill,  
their purse, or their genius that way. By which means, they grew  
wealthy and considerable, that in the reign of king James I. the  
town was incorporated by the name of two bailiffs, twelve assistants,  
and commonalty, of the burrough of Goodmanchester. Henry of  
Huntingdon calls it in his time a village not unpleasant; but formerly,  
as he truly writes, it had been a noble city. For (omitting the Roman  
temples frequently plow'd-up, and the distances in the itinerary; toge-  
ther with the bones of divers men of far greater stature than is cre-  
dible to be spoken of in those days;) omitting these, the very name  
implies it to be the same city that Antoninus calls Duroliponte, in-  
stead of Durosiponte; for Durosiponte (pardon the alteration of one  
letter) signifies in British a bridge over Ouse: (For all own, that  
this river was known indifferently by the names of Use, Ise, Oie, and  
Uise: But in the Saxon times, when it lost this name, it took that  
of Gormonchester, from Gormon the Dane (who, by articles of peace,  
gave these parts granted to him by our king Alfred) as this verse may  
express:

*Gor-*

*Gormonis a castris nomine, nomen habet.*

The town from Gormond's castle took its name.

It is the same place that J. Picus, an ancient writer, speaks of when he says, that king Alfred gain'd such advantages over the Danes, that they gave what hostages he demanded, either to leave the land, or turn christians. Which was put in execution; for Guthrum the king (whom they call Gormond) with thirty of his nobility and almost all his people, were baptiz'd, and himself was adopted Alfred's god-son, under the name of Athelstan. Upon this he settled here, and had the provinces of the East-Angles and Northumbers bestowed on him; to protect that now as his inheritance under the king, which before he had wasted as a robber. Nor must it be pass'd over, that some of these old writers have call'd this city Gumicester, and Gumicastrum, positively affirming that Machutus had his episcopal see at this place. Here is a school, called the Free Grammar School of queen Elizabeth, which was incorporated in the third year of king James I.

The Ouse, hastening its course from hence, when it comes near Cambridgeshire, glides thro' pleasant meadows, where is a pretty neat town call'd by the Saxons Slepe, and now St Ives; which a late writer describes to be, a fair, large, and ancient town, with a fine stonebridge over the Ouse. The name is derived from Ivo a Persian bishop, who, as they write, about the year 600, travell'd over England, with great reputation of sanctity, preaching the gospel with great zeal wherever he came; and that he left his name to this place where he dy'd. Soon after, the religious remov'd his body from hence to Ramsey-abbey. Within these few years, a great part of it was burnt down; but it is built again.

Turning almost three miles to one side, I saw Somersham, a large place lately belonging to the bishop of Ely, being given to the church of Ely by earl Brithnot in the year 991, and enlarged with new buildings by that lewd and luxurious bishop, James Stanley. It is now the possession of Anthony Hammond, of the ancient family of that name in Kent. A little higher, stood the famous rich abbey of Ramsey (in Saxon Ramerige,) among the fens; where the rivers stagnate in a spongy kind of ground. The description of this place, take in from out of the private history of the abbey. *Ramsey, that is, the Rams* on the west-side (for on all others there are nothing but impassable fens)

a great way together) is separated from the firm ground, almost two low-floors, by rough quagmires. Which place formerly us'd to receive vessels into the midst of it, up a slow river, by gentle gales of wind; but now with great pains and cost, these clay quagmires are stopped with large quantities of wood, gravel, and stone, and footmen may pass upon a firm causey almost two miles long, but not very broad. It is enclos'd with alders, which, with fresh green reeds, intermix'd with bulrushes, make a beautiful show. Long before it was inhabited, it was all cover'd over with several sorts of trees, but with wild ashes in abundance. But now of late, since these woods are partly cut down; the land is found to be arable and of a fat mould, and is plentiful in fruit and corn; planted with gardens, rich in pastures. In spring, the pleasant meads smile on the spectators, and the whole isle is embroider'd as it were, with variety of flowers. Besides all this, it is surrounded with meres full of eels, and with pools full of all sorts of fish and water-fowl. Of which Ramsay-mere is one, so call'd from the name of the isle, far exceeding all the neighbouring waters both in appearance and plenty; and where the isle is wider, and wood thicker, it washes the sandy banks, and is mighty pleasant to the beholders. Out of its deep holes, they draw pikes of a wonderful bigness, which they call bakeds, either with nets of several sorts, or baited hooks, or other fishing instruments; and though this place is perpetually haunted by fowlers, and always abundance is taken, yet is there still abundance left behind. Then he proceeds to shew at large, how one Ailwin of the royal family (who on account of his great authority and favour with the king, was surnamed Healf-Koning, i. e. half-king,) built this abby, upon occasion of a fisher's dream; how bishop Oswald enlarg'd it; how the kings and others encreas'd its endowments, so that it usually expended seven thousand pounds of our money, a year, to maintain sixty monks. But since it is now dissolv'd and gone, and the very place where it stood, forgotten; perhaps some will think I have said too much of it already; however, I will venture to add, out of the same author, the epitaph on Ailwin's tomb, because it has in it such an uncommon title of honour.

HIC REQUIESCIT ALWINVS INCITI REGIS  
EADGARICOGNATVS, TOTIVS ANGLIÆ AL-  
DERMANNVS, ET HVIVS SACRI COENOBII MI-  
RACELVS FVNDATOR.

That is,

U u

Here

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*Here rests Ailwin, kinsman to the famous king Eadgar, alderman of all England, and the miraculous founder of this monastery.*

I will add also, that the abbots of Ramsey had place in parliament; the head of their barony being Broughton, at some distance to the south, which had annex'd to it, in this shire, four knights fees.

From Ramsey to Peterborough, distant about ten miles, King Canute (as is commonly said) rais'd a pav'd causey with great labour and charge (by our historians call'd King's delf, nigh the great lake Wiclemere,) because that way was well-nigh impassable by reason of brooks and sloughs. But what way soever is meant by that name it is certain, that it cannot be Canutus's road; for the name Kingsdelf or Cingetdelp in those parts appears upon record before Canutus's time; I mean, in the reign of king Edgar, who, in his charter to the church of Peterborough, makes this Cingesdælf one of the bounds of his donation. Besides, the Saxon delf will not answer a *via constructa lapidibus*, or pav'd way, but seems rather to mark out to us some ditch drawn at first for the draining of those fenny grounds, and reducing the waters into one channel. As this abbey was an ornament to the eastern parts of the county, so was Sawtry to the middle; a monastery for Cistercians, founded by the second Simon de St. Lize, earl of Huntingdon. A little way off, lies Cunnington; held (as the lawyers word it) of the honour of Huntingdon, where, within a square ditch, are the plain footsteps of an ancient castle, which with Saltry was given by Canute to Turkill the Dane, who liv'd among the East-Angles, and call'd-in Sueno king of Denmark to plunder the nation. After Turkill's departure, it was possess'd by Waldeof earl of Huntingdon, son to Siward earl of Northumberland, who marry'd Judith, William the conqueror's niece by his half sister on the mother's side; by whose eldest daughter it descended to the royal family of Scotland. For she, after her first husband's decease, marry'd David earl of Huntingdon (afterwards king of Scotland,) the younger son of Malcolm Can-mor king of Scotland and Margaret his wife, of the royal family of the Saxons (she being king Edmund Ironside's grandchild by his son Edgar, who was surnam'd the Banish'd.) David had a son call'd Henry, and he another call'd David, who was earl of Huntingdon: By Isabel, one of his daughters, Cunnington and other large possessions, came by marriage to Robert Brus, from whose eldest son Robert, surnam'd the Noble James I. king of Great Britain, lineally derived his descent; and from his younger son Bernard, who in-

inherited Cunnington and Exton, Sir Robert Cotton knight derive d his; a person, who, besides other excellencies, was a greater admirer and master of learning, and had here a collection of antiquities from all parts; from whose singular courtesie I often received great light; in these obscure and intricate matters. Divers Roman monuments brought by him from the Picts-wall, do still remain in a summer-house in the garden here; and, in the church, are two ancient remarkable monuments; the one inscrib'd, *Imperator, rex Franciæ, Anglo-Saxonum, Angliæ, Scotiæ*; the other, prince Henry of Scotland, lord of Cunnington; but both without date.

By reason these parts lye so low, and are under water for some months, and in some places are so hollow, that they seem to float; they are much infested with the noisome smells of lakes, and a thick foggy air. Here lies that clear lake so full of fish, call'd Witlemere, six miles long and three broad, in a moorish country; but the great profit of fishing, the plenty of pastures, and the abundance of turf for firing do (as the neighbours think) sufficiently make amends for the unhealthfulness of the place. For king Canute gave orders to 'Turk-kill the Dane (whom we mention'd before,) "that every village about the fens should have it's proper marsh; who so divided the ground, that the inhabitants of each village should have just so much of the marsh for their own use, as lay right against the farm-ground of the said village. He also made an order, that no village might dig or mow in another's marsh without leave; but however, that the feeding should be common to all, that is, horn under horn, for the preservation of peace and quiet among them" But this by the way.

When the children and servants of Canutus were sent-for from Peterborough to Ramsey, as they pass'd this lake, "in the midst of their pleasant voyage, and their singing and jollity, the turbulent winds, and a tempestuous storm, arose on all sides, and as it were surrounded them; so that they were utterly in despair either of life, security, or succour: But so great was God's mercy, that they did not all become a prey to that devouring element: For some, in his compassion and providence, he sav'd from the raging waves, but others, by his secret judgment, he suffer'd to perish in the deep. When this sad news was brought to the king, it put him into a dreadful terror and trembling; but after he was a little recover'd, he did, by the counsel of his nobility and friends (to prevent all future mischances from this merciless monster,) order his soldiers and servants to mark out a ditch in the marshes between Ramsey and Witley, with their skeins and swords, and

let day-labourers to scower and cleanse it; from whence, as we have it from our predecessors of good credit, this ditch by some of the neighbours was call'd Swerdes-delf, because it was mark'd out by swords; but some would have it call'd Cneuts-delf, from that king's name." But now they commonly call it Steeds-dike; and it is the bound between this county and Cambridgeshire.

Kinnibantum-castle, now Kimbolton, formerly the seat of the Mandevils, and after that of the Bohuns, Staffords, and Wingfields, is one great ornament to the west-parts of this county. Sir Richard Wingfield (as Leland tells us) built new lodgings and galleries upon the old foundations of this castle, which was double-ditch'd, and the building of it very strong. From the Wingfields, it pass'd by sale to the Montagues; and Henry earl of Manchester, of that name, very much improv'd the castle, sparing no cost that might add to its beauty; but most of all hath it been improv'd, or rather new-built, in a very beautiful manner, by Charles, his grandson; who hath been advanced by his majesty king George, to the higher and more honourable title of duke of Manchester. Here is at present a pretty fair town, seated in a bottom; which hath given the title of baron, to the successive earls of Manchester.

Below this, was Stonely, a small convent founded by the Bigames. A little way from hence stands Awkenbury, which was given by king John to David earl of Huntingdon, and by John Scot his son to Stephen Segrave, a person whom I am the more willing to mention, because he was one of the courtiers who have taught us, That no power is powerful enough to preserve it self. With a great deal of pains he rais'd himself to a high station, with as much trouble kept it, and as suddenly lost it. *In his younger days, from a clerk he was made knight, tho' but of a mean family; in his latter days, by his industry and courage he so enrich'd and advanced himself, that he was rank'd among the highest of the nobility, and was made chief justice of England, and managed almost all the affairs of the nation as he pleas'd.* At length, he wholly lost the king's favour, and ended his days in a monastery; *and he, who, out of pride, must needs remove from ecclesiastical to secular affairs, was forc'd to reassume his ecclesiastical office and shaven crown, which he had formerly laid aside, without so much as consulting his bishop.* A little way from hence, stands Leigh-ton, where Sir Gervase Clifton knight began a noble building, and in the sixth year of king James I. was created baron of this place; to which title his great grand-daughter the lady Katharine O'Brien was restor'd in the reign of king Charles II. It hath since been the

the possession of the lady Butler, daughter and heir to to the late Richard earl of Arran, who had it in marriage with the sole daughter of James duke of Richmond, as the duke had had it by marriage with daughter and heir of the lord Clifton. From a place near this, the earl of Arran was created a baron of this realm, by the title of lord Butler of Weston.

Hard by, lies Spaldwick, which was given to the church of Lincoln by Henry I. to make amends for his taking the bishoprick of Ely out of Lincoln-diocese.

The river Nen, at its entrance into this shire, runs by Elton, the seat, heretofore, of the famous and ancient family of the Sapcotes, where was a private but very beautiful chappel, with curious painted windows, built by the lady Elizabeth Dinham, widow of the baron Fitz-Warren, who marry'd into this family; but it hath been ruinous these many years; and the place is now the seat of the Probies, who have built here an elegant house. Somewhat higher, upon the Nen, nigh Wamsford, stood a little city, of greater antiquity than all these, call'd Caer Dorm and Dormeccaster by Henry of Huntingdon, who says it was utterly ruinated before his time. Undoubtedly, this is the *urobiava* of Antoninus, that is, the river-passage, now for the same reason call'd Dornford nigh Chesterton, which, besides the old coins, has the manifest marks of a destroy'd city. For a Roman way runs directly from hence to Huntingdon; and a little above Siltton, formerly Strichilton, it appears with a high bank, and in an old Saxon charter is call'd Erminstreat. Here, it runs through the middle of a square fort, defended on the north-side with walls, on the rest with ramparts of earth; nigh which, they some time since dug-up several stone coffins or sepulchres, in the ground of R. Bevil (descended from an ancient and noted family in this county;) now the joint inheritance of the Hewets of Warley in this county, and the Drydens; as descended to them by the issue of the last Sir Robert Bevil. Some think that this city stood upon both banks of the river; and others are of opinion, that the little village Caster on the other side was part of it; and truly this opinion is supported by an ancient history, which says there was a place call'd *Durmundcaster* by Nene, where Kinneburga founded a little nunnery, first call'd Kinneburge-caster, and afterwards Shortness Caster. This Kinneburga, the most christian daughter of the Pagan king Penda and wife of Afred king of the Northumbers, resign'd her sovereign authority for Christ's service (to use the words of an old writer) and govern'd her own nunnery as a mother to those holy

holy virgins. Which place about ann. 1010, was level'd with the ground by the Danes. A little before this river leaves the county, it runs by an ancient seat call'd Bottle-bridge (for shortness instead of Botolph-bridge) which the Draitons and Lovets brought from R. Gimels to the family of the Shirlies, by right of succession; but it is again pass'd from them to other hands. Adjoining to this, lies Overton, corruptly call'd Orton; forfeited by felony, and redeemed of king John by Neale Lovetoft, whose sister and coheir was married to Hubert or Robert de Brounford, and their children took the name of Lovetoft.

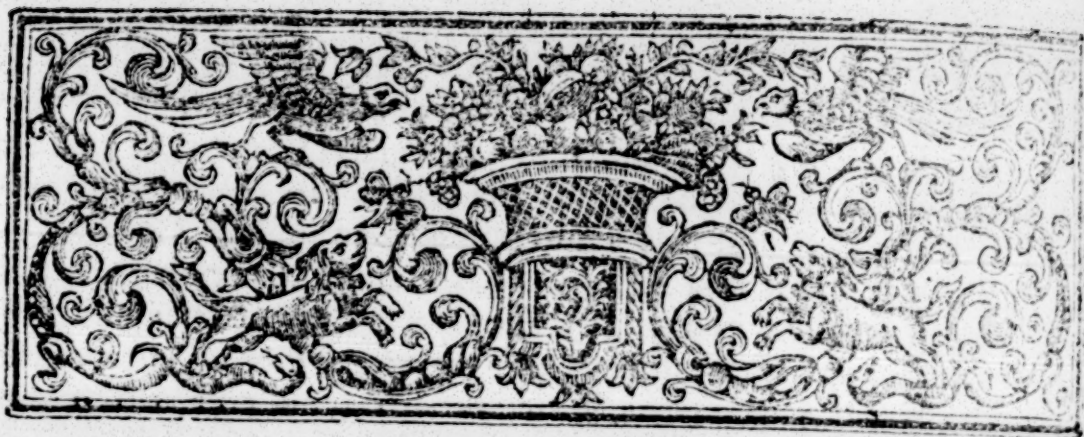
This county, in the decline of the English-Saxons, had Siward an officary earl; for then there were no hereditary earls in England, but the governors of provinces, according to the custom of that age, were call'd earls with addition of the title of the province or country they govern'd: As this Siward, for the time he govern'd this county, was call'd earl of Huntingdon; but soon after, when he govern'd Northumberland, he was call'd earl of Northumberland. He had a son call'd Waldeof, who, under the title of earl, had the government of this county, by the favour of William the conqueror, whose niece Judith, by a sister on the mother's side, he had marry'd. This Waldeof's eldest daughter (says William Gemeticensis) was married to Simon de Senlys or St. Liz: She brought him the earldom of Huntingdon, and had a son by him, call'd Simon. After her husband's decease, she was married to David brother of St. Maud queen of England (who was afterwards king of Scotland) by whom she had a son nam'd Henry. Afterwards, as fortune and the favour of princes alter'd, this dignity was enjoyed sometimes by the Scots, and at other times by the St. Lizs: first, Henry the son of David, then Simon St. Liz, Simon the first's son after him, Malcolm king of Scotland, earl Henry's brother; after his decease, Simon St. Liz the third, who dying without heirs, was succeeded by William king of Scotland, brother of Malcolm. Thus says Ralph Diceto in the year 1185, who liv'd at that time: When earl Simon, son of earl Simon, died without children, the king restor'd to William king of Scotland the county of Huntingdon with its appurtenances. Then, his brother David had it, and his son John Scot earl of Chester, who died without heirs; and when Alexander the second, who marry'd king Henry III's daughter, had enjoy'd this title a little while, and the wars broke out, the Scots lost this honour, with a fair inheritance in England. A good while after, Edward III. created William Clinton, earl of Huntingdon; and Richard II. put Guiscard de Angouleme in his place: And at his death, John Holland. He was succeeded by John and Henry his sons who were both dukes of Exeter also. This is the same Henry duke

Essex, whom Philip Comines (as he affirms) saw begging bare-foot in the low countries, whilst he resolutely adher'd to the house of Lancaster, tho' he had marry'd Edward IVth's own sister. Next to him, Thomas Grey, afterwards marquiss of Dorset, held this honour a little while. It is also evident from the records, that William Herbert earl of Pembroke, brought the charter of creation, whereby his father was made earl of Pembroke, into chancery to be cancell'd, and that Edward IV. created him earl of Huntingdon in the seventeenth year of his reign. In the memory of our fathers, Henry VIII. confer'd this honour upon George lord Hastings; who was succeeded by Francis, and he by his son Henry, a person truly honourable both for his nobility and piety: He dying without issue, his brother George succeeded him, whose grandchild by a son, Henry, afterwards enjoy'd the same honour; and had by Elizabeth (daughter and coheir to Ferdinando earl of Derby) Ferdinando earl of Huntingdon, father of Theophilus the seventh earl of this family, who was captain of the band of gentlemen prisoners, privy-councillor to king Charles II. and king James II. by whom he was made chief justice in Eyre of all the forests south of Trent; as also lieutenant of the counties of Leicester and Derby. To him succeeded George lord Hastings his son, who dying unmarried, the title descended to Theophilus the present earl, son of Theophilus by a second marriage.

This little shire contains 78 parishes.

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*I have not as yet observed any plants peculiar to this county; the more rare being common to it, with Cambridgeshire.*



# CORITANI.



WE are now to visit the Coritani, a people joining to the Icenæ, but more within land; taking up a very large tract of ground in the middle part of the isle, and as far as the German ocean; viz. the counties commonly call'd Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire. I forbear to meddle with the etymology of the name, I should pretend to know what, in truth, to me is a mystery. For notwithstanding they are a people scatter'd far and wide, which the Britains express by Gur-tani, yet, should I assert that these Coritani took their name from thence, would you not think this mere trifling? They who are better skill'd in that way, may give their conjectures with greater safety; whilst I, according to my design, survey each of the counties I now mentioned, in their respective order.

## NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

**T**HE county of Northampton, in Saxon Norh-asendon-  
 scyre, and Northantonshire, commonly Northampton-  
 shire; is situate in the very middle, and heart as it were,  
 of England; and from the south-west-side, where it is  
 broadest, it contracts itself by degrees, and runs out in  
 length to the north-east. On the east, lie the counties  
 of Bedford and Huntingdon; on the south, those of Buckingham and  
 Oxford; on the west, Warwickshire, and on the north, the counties of  
 Leicester, and Rutland; and that of Lincoln, separated from it by the  
 river Avon the less, and the Welland. At the time of the conqueror's  
 survey, it was something larger, than now it is. For all the  
 south-part of Rutlandshire must have been taken out of it, because in  
 Domesday-book we meet with towns in that tract, under the title of  
 Northamptonshire. Watling-street, one of the Roman high-ways,  
 runs along the east-side of it from the Ouse to Dowbridge: And the  
 Ouse, called also by historians Aufona, flows gently through the mid-  
 dle and east parts of it. It is a champain country, very populous,  
 and every where adorn'd with noblemen and gentlemen's houses; and  
 very full of towns and churches; insomuch that in some places there  
 are twenty, in others thirty spires or steeples, more or less, in view  
 at the same time. Its soil, both for tillage and pasture, is exceed-  
 ing fertile; but it is not well-stock'd with wood (unless at the higher  
 and further end;) which, with its distance from the sea, and thereby  
 want of coal, makes fuel extreme dear. But every where (like the  
 other provinces of England) it is fill'd, and as it were beset with  
 X x sheep;

sheep; which (as that Hythodæus said) used to be so gentle, and fed with so little; but now, as it is reported, begin to be so ravenous and wild, that they devour men, and waste and depopulate fields, houses and towns. It is so plentiful in all things necessary to life, that it doth not need, nor will allow, much of manufacture; the ground abundantly maintaining and employing the inhabitants. The manufacture of cloathing, it is said, was formerly attempted with great application, and came to nothing; but there is, at this time, a considerable return from Northampton and other towns, by the manufacture of stockings; and in others, serges and shalcons do now employ many hands.

On the south-west side of this county, runs the river Charwell; upon which we see Chipping-wardon, where they frequently plow up the foundations of ancient buildings, and often meet with Roman coins; and, at a little distance, Danesmore (for so it was anciently call'd, though now commonly Dunsmore,) which we may well derive from the Danes, since our historians gives us an account of their ravage and plunder in those parts. Also a little lower, is Charlton, near which is a camp with a double fortification, call'd Rainsborrow; the figure whereof is almost oval.

On the south-border, where the river Ouse, so often mentioned, has its spring, on a gently rising ground full of bubbling fountains, stands brackley, that is, a place full of brake or fern; anciently a famous staple for wool, but which now only boasts how great and wealthy it once was by its ruins, and by a mayor whom it still retains for its chief magistrate. The Zouches, lords of the place, founded a college here; from them it came successively in right of marriage to the Hollands and the Lovels. But upon the attainder of Lovel, in Henry VIIIth's time, the Stanleys by a grant from the king, became lords of it. But the college, now ruinous, belongs to Magdalen college in Oxford, who kept it for a place of Retirement. This town was not a little famous in former ages, for the memory of Rumbald a young infant, who (as we read in his life) was a king's son; and as soon as he was born in this place, spoke I know not what holy words, and after he had profess'd himself a Christian, and been baptiz'd; immediately expir'd.

Not far from Brackley, is Stene, the seat of the Crews; of which place John Crew, for his signal services and loyalty, was created baron, by the title of lord Crew of Stene.

From Brackley northward, after I had gone six miles through woods and groves; I saw, first Aitwel, where T. Billing (formerly chief justice of the king's bench) dwelt in great repute: from whom it descended hereditarily to the ancient family of the Lovels; and hath been since one of the seats of the lords Ferrers of Chartley. Then Wedon, and Wapiham; which the family of the Pinkneys held by barony; till such time as H. de Pinkney made king Edward I his heir. Who being an excellent prince, many ill men made him their heir: Whereas, according to Tacitus, a good father makes no prince, but a bad one, his heir. From hence I presently came to Tripontium, which Antoninus takes notice of, but not in its right place. For I am of opinion, that it was the very place which we now call Torcester; and there want not good arguments to prove this. If Trimumtum in Thrace had that name from three hills, Triturata in Tuscany from three towers, and Tripolis from three cities; there is no room to doubt, but that this Tripontium of our's, was so nam'd from three bridges. And here, at this Torcester, the Roman prætorian or military-way, which appears very plainly in several places between this and Stony-Stratford, is cut by three of the principal channels which the little river divides itself into; and these, as well anciently as now, must have had, of necessity, three several bridges over them. Now, if you ask a Briton what he calls three bridges in British, he will presently answer you, Tair ponte; and some persons of good credit, from whom I received several Roman coins here, positively affirm that Torcester is its true name, and think it was so call'd from towers. Nevertheless, Bede calls it Toucester (if the book be not faulty,) in whom we read, that this town was so fortified in the year of our Lord 917, that the Danes were by no means able to take it; and that king Edward the elder afterwards encompass'd it with a stone-wall; yet, with all search, I could find no footsteps of any such wall. Only there is a mount still remaining (they call it Beri-hill,) now taken up with private gardens, and planted on all sides with cherry-trees. And time itself has so ruin'd the town, that it is beholden to the situation, the name, and the ancient coins now and then found here, for its reputation of antiquity. For now it has nothing worth the notice, but one only church, large and fair; in which D. Sponde, formerly rector thereof, and by report a good benefactor both to church and town, is interr'd in a tomb of curious workmanship. But at Elton hard by, you have the prospect of a beautiful seat, belonging to the family of the Farmers knights; since advanced to the dignity of barons.

in the person of William Farnier, lord Lempster ; who much improved this seat of his ancestors, by building here a stately new house, and adorning it with suitable plantations and gardens ; together with many curious and ancient statues.

The river that waters Torcester, in its course from hence toward the Ouse, runs by Grafton, an honour of the kings but formerly seat of the family of Widdevil, of which was that Richard, person much renowned for his valour, who was fined one thousand pound sterling by king Henry VI. for marrying Jaquet (dowager of John duke of Bedford, and daughter of Peter of Luxemburg earl of St. Paul) without the king's licence. Yet afterwards, he advanced the same person to the honour of baron Widdevil of rivers. With Elizabeth (the daughter of this lord,) king Edward IV. privately contracted marriage, and was the first of our kings, since the conquest who married a subject. But, by that, he drew upon himself and his relations a world of trouble ; as may be seen at large in our histories. The said Richard Widdevil, lord of Rivers, Grafton, and De la More was by Edward IV. now his son-in-law, advanced (these are the very words of the charter of creation) to be earl of Rivers, by the cincture of a sword, to have the same to him and his heirs-males with the fee of twenty pounds by the hands of the sheriff of Northampton. And soon after, he was, with great honour, constituted constable of England (I speak out of the original patent) "to occupy administer and execute the said office, by himself or his sufficient deputies, for term of life, receiving yearly two hundred pounds out of the exchequer, with full power and authority to take cognisance, and proceed in causes of and concerning the crime of high treason, on the occasion thereof: Also to hear, examine, and in due manner determine the causes and matters aforesaid, with all and singular circumstances thence arising, thereunto incident, or therewith conjoynd summarily and without noise, or formal process, having only regard to the truth of the fact, and with the king's hand, if it shall be thought convenient in our behalf, without all appeal." But after he had enjoy'd these honours a little while, he was beat in the battle of Edgcote, fighting for his son-in-law ; and soon after taken and beheaded.

And altho' this family was extinct, and ended in his sons (Anthony earl Rivers being beheaded by Richard III. and Richard and his brothers dying without issue ;) yet from the daughters, there sprang very fair and noble branches. For from them issued the royal line of  
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England, the marquisses of Dorset, earls of Essex, earls of Arundel, earls of Worcester, earls of Derby, and the barons Stafford. We shall only observe further concerning Grafton, that it was held in *capite* by John de S. Mauro or Seymour, by the service of keeping one white bracker of the king's, having red ears. This bracker seems to have been the same with the ancient bracco, which signify'd those lesser sort of dogs, that scent out for game. The place hath given the title of duke, to Henry Fitz-Roy, baron of Sudbury, viscount Ipswich, and earl of Euston; created duke of Grafton in the year 1675, which honours Charles his only child enjoys; together with this ancient seat.

Behind Grafton is Sacy Forest, a place set apart for game. More eastward, the villages stand very thick; among which these are of greatest note. Blisworth, heretofore, the seat of the Wakes, descended from the famous family of the barons of Wake and Estoteville; Pateshall, which gave name formerly to a noted family; Greenes-Norton (so nam'd of the Greenes, persons fam'd in the last age save one for their wealth :) Call'd before, if I mistake not Norton Dany, and held in *capite* of the king, by the service of lifting up the right hand towards the king, yearly on Christmas-day, in what place soever he then was, in England. Wardon, a hundred, which had its lords descended from Guy de Reinbudcourt a Norman, whose estate came by the Foliois to Guiscard Leddet, whose daughter, Christian, bare her husband, Henry de Braibrook, several children. But Guiscard, the eldest, assum'd his mother's surname, Leddet. Shortly after, this great estate was divided by females between William and John Latimers of Corby, brothers. From the last, the Griffins in this county had their original; as from the first, the Latimers, barons of good antiquity in Yorkshire.

Higher in the country, northward, arises the river Aufona or Avon (for Avon in the British tongue is a general name for all rivers :) It is call'd Nen by the inhabitants; and passes from the west-side of this county (making many reaches, by the winding of its banks) in a manner through the midst of it, to which it is a continual blessing; and for the making of which navigable, an act of parliament was passed in the twelfth year of queen Anne. A very noble river it is; and, if I guess right, it was garrison'd in old time by the Romans. For when the hither part of Britain, in the emperor Claudius's time, was brought under the Roman government, so as the inhabitants thereof were termed allies to the Romans; when the remote Britains also

made frequent incursions into this country, and carried all before them and these allies themselves, more easily bearing the government than the vices of the Romans, at every turn conspir'd with the more remote Britains: Then P. Ostorius (says Tacitus) *cinctos castris Antonam* (Aufonam I would read it, if I might take that liberty) & *Sabrinam* *cobibere parat.* That is, if I understand that passage right, he, by placing forts up and down upon these rivers, undertook to restrain the more remote Britains, and those of the province, from assisting one another against the Romans. What river this should be, none can tell. Lippinus, the Apollo of our age, hath either dispell'd this mist, or I am in a cloud. He points out Northampton, and I am of opinion that Antona has crept into Tacitus instead of Aufona, upon which Northampton is seated. For the very heart or middle of England is counted to be near this place; where, out of one hill spring three rivers running different ways; Cherwell to the south, Leame to the west (which is receiv'd by another Avon, that runs into the Severn westward,) and this Avon or Nen to the east. Of which, these two Avons do so cross and divide England, that whoever comes out of the north part of the island, must of necessity pass one of them. When therefore Ostorius had fortified the Severn and these two Avons, he had no cause to fear any danger out of Wales or the north parts of Britain, either to the Romans or their allies; who at that time had reduced only the hither parts of this isle into the form of a province, as Tacitus himself witnesses in another place. But, on the contrary, if the sense of the historian be (as a later writer has interpreted it) that Ostorius block'd up the Britains between the rivers Antona and Sabrina, it is impossible to fix it here; since the Avon and Severn are so far from joining, that they take almost a quite contrary course. Others therefore, from the whole series of that action, and the thread of the history, think it more probable, that it was that Avon which runs into the Severn; as is already observ'd in Wiltshire. Not but several ancient fortifications have been observ'd upon the river Nen; as, at Mill-Cotton, Chester, and Clifford-hill; all which appear to have been the work of the Romans, by the coins, urns, and other plain testimonies of Roman antiquity, which have been discover'd at them; and which are also frequently discover'd in many other parts of this county.

Those great fortifications and military fences to be seen at Gildesborough and Dantrey (between the springs of the two Avons, which run different ways, and where the only passage is into the hither part of Britain, without rivers in the way,) may seem to be some of the forts which

which Ostorius erected; on supposition, that is Avon is the Antona of Tacitus. That at Gildsborough is great and large; but this other at Dantrey is greater and larger; for being four-square, upon an high hill, from whence all the country beneath is seen far and near, and having on the east-side a mount, which they call Spelwell; it encloses, within a bank cast-up, two hundred acres or thereabouts. Within these, the country-people now and then find coins of the Roman emperors; which are certain proofs of it's antiquity. They are much mistaken therefore, who will have it to be a work of the Danes, and that the town under it was thence nam'd Dantrey; now noted for it's mines, and for giving the title of baron to the earl Nottingham; whose father Sir Heneage Finch, lord chancellor of England, was created a baron of this realm, by the title of lord Finch of Daventry; and formerly, for a house of Augustin Fryers, of which (as it is reported) H. de Fawelly was the founder.

At Gildsborough, before-mentioned, is a fair free-school, created and endowed by Sir John Langham, sometime alderman of London; who also founded an alms-house hard by, at Cortesbrook, the seat of the Langhams, which hath of late years been much improved in buildings and gardens, and in the church whereof are several curious monuments belonging to that family.

At the head of the Avon or Nen (to make a step backwards,) stands Catesby, which gave name to an ancient family; but now of execrable memory, for a most cruel and horrible plot, not to be parallel'd in any age, which Robert Catesby of Ashby St. Leger, the dishonour of his family (desperately bent upon villany and cruelty, and impiously conspiring the destruction of his prince and country,) contriv'd, under a precious pretext of religion. Concerning this, let all ages be silent, and let not this reproach be convey'd to posterity, which the present age cannot reflect on without horror; nay, even the dumb and inanimate creatures seem to be moved, at the hainousness of such a villanous conspiracy. Between Catesby and Badby, is a large encampment, the area of which is about ten acres. It is now call'd Arbury, or Arberry-hanks, and is one of the highest hills in the whole country. Hard by Catesby, is Fawelly, where the Knightleys have long dwelt, formerly adorn'd with the honour of knighthood, and descended from the more ancient family of Knightley of Gnowshall in Staffordshire. And more forward, upon the Nen (whose channel as yet is but small,) stands Medon on the street (i. e. by the Roman way,) once the royal seat of Colpber king of the Mercians, and converted into a monastery by his daughter.

daughter Werburg a most holy virgin, whose miracles in driving away  
 geese from hence, some credulous writers have very much magnified.  
 I should probably injure truth, should I not think (though I have been  
 of a contrary opinion,) that it is this Wedon which Antoninus in his itin-  
 erary calls Bannavenna, Bennavenna, Bennaventa, and once cornubly  
 Bannaventa; notwithstanding there do not now remain any plain footsteps  
 of that name: So much does time obscure and alter all things! For the  
 distance from the ancient stations and quarters on both sides, exactly  
 agrees; and in that very name of Bannavenna, the name of the river  
 Aufona now Nen, the head whereof is near it, does in some measure  
 discover it self. Likewise, a military-way goes directly from hence  
 northward; with a causey broken and worn away in many places, and  
 most of all over-against Creke, a little village, where of necessity it was  
 joyn'd with bridges; but elsewhere it appears with a high ridge as far  
 as Dowbridge near Lilborne.

Near Bannavenna, at Nether-Heyford, about half a mile from Wat-  
 ling-street, was discover'd in the year 1699, a noble chequer'd pave-  
 ment, consisting of little bricks or tiles artificially tinged with colours,  
 and as smooth as polished marble; all of them squares, somewhat big-  
 ger than common dice. They were of four colours, white, yellow,  
 red, and blue, and disposed with great exactness into various regular  
 figures. When it was first uncover'd, it was so close and firm, as to  
 bear walking upon it, like a stone-floor; but when it had lain a while  
 exposed to the night-dews, the cement became relaxed, and the squares  
 easily separable. By the foundations which they dig-up, and the thin and  
 pale green sword hereabouts, different from the rest of the meadow, it  
 appears that here hath been a large building; as there hath been also at  
 Castledikes, not far off; but this last is thought to have been the work of  
 the Saxons, rather than of the Romans.

A little more northward, I saw Althorp, the noble and beautiful seat  
 of the famous family of the Spencers, knights, allied to very many fa-  
 milies of great worth and honour; of which, Sir Robert Spencer, the  
 fifth knight in a continu'd succession, an eminent encourager of vir-  
 tue and learning, was by king James I. advanced to the title and ho-  
 nour of baron Spencer of Wormleighton; since which, they have been  
 rais'd to the title of earls of Sunderland, and have been employ'd  
 in some of the highest officers in the state; the present earl, a  
 person of great learning, honour and abilities, having been one of  
 the principal secretaries of state, in the reigns of queen Anne and king  
 George, and after that, successively, president of his Majesty's most  
 ho-

honourable privy council, and groom of the stole. This ancient seat was rebuilt, with great improvement, by Robert the late earl; and is particularly noted for a magnificent gallery, furnish'd with a large collection of curious paintings, by the best hands. Hard by Althorp, Holdenby-house made a noble appearance: a stately and truly magnificent piece of building, erected by Sir Christopher Hatton (privy-counsellor to queen Elizabeth, lord chancellor of England, and knight of the garter) upon the lands and inheritance of his great grandmother, heir of the ancient family of the Holdens; for the greatest and last monument of his youth, as himself afterwards was wont to call it. A person, to say nothing of him but what he truly deserv'd, eminent for his piety towards God, his fidelity to his country, his untainted integrity, and unparallel'd charity: One also (which is not the least part of his character) who was always ready to support and encourage learning. Thus, as he liv'd piously, so he dy'd piously, in Christ: And the monument which the learned in their writings have rais'd to him, shall render him more illustrious than that most noble and splendid tomb in St. Paul's church, London; becoming so worthy and eminent a person, and erected, at great charge, to his memory, by Sir William Hatton, knight, his adopted son. But this once stately fabrick (made more known, since it's founder's time, by the frequent mention of it in our histories, as the place of confinement to that virtuous and religious prince king Charles I.) is now so ruinous (a very little of it excepted) that there is scarce one stone upon another.

Beneath those places, the Aufona, or Nen, glides forward with a gentle small stream, and is soon after encreas'd by a little river from the north; where, at their very meeting, the town, call'd from the river, Northafandon, and by contraction Northampton, is so seated, that on the west-side it is water'd with this river, and on the south-side with the other. Which I was of late too easily induc'd to believe the ancient Bannaventa: But I err'd in my conjecture, and my confession must atone for it. As for the name, it may seem at first sight to have had it from the situation upon the north-side of the Aufona. But against this, it is alledg'd, that the Saxon-annals call it simply hamtun (as well as they do Southampton,) and never use our present name till some time after the conquest, and then write it expressly Northamtun and Northamtun, and never Northafandun. So that it seems not to have ever had any relation to the river upon which it stands: but being at first call'd Hamtun (as numbers of other towns were, and

still are,) had probably the initial North put to it, when it and Southampton (call'd also Hamtun) grew to be considerable. The town itself, which seem'd to have been all of stone) was in it's buildings very neat and elegant; in compass, indifferent large, (containing seven parishes-churches, besides two in the suburbs,) and wall'd about: From which walls there is a noble prospect every way into a spacious champaign country. It had flourish'd and encreas'd for many ages together, when, in our's, a most lamentable fire laid it intirely in ashes. But the liberal contributions of the kingdom rais'd it up again with much greater beauty; so that now it is one of the most neat and complete towns in the kingdom. It has in it four churches: The great church, as also the sessions-house, are very beautiful buildings; and they have two hospitals, with a charity-school endowed, for the instruction of poor children. The principal manufacture is that of shoes, for which the place is famed; and, next to that, is their manufacture of stockings. On the west-side it had an old castle, to which the very antiquity of it added a beauty; it was built by Simon de Sancto Licio, commonly call'd Senliz, the first earl of Northampton of that name; who joyned likewise to it a beautiful church dedicated to St. Andrew, for his own burying-place, and, as it is reported, rebuilt the town; but the castle is now dismantled. Simon the younger, his son, did also without the town found De la Pree, a nunnery. It seems to have made no figure during the Saxon heptarchy; nor have our writers made any mention of it in all those depredations of the Danes; unless it was, when Sveno the Dane ravag'd, all over England, with that barbarous fury and courage. For then, as Henry of Huntingdon reports, it was set on fire, and burnt to the ground. In the reign of St. Edward, there were in this city, as we find in Domesday, sixty burghesses in the king's domain, having as many mansions: Of these, in king William the 1<sup>st</sup>'s time, fourteen lay waste, and forty-seven remained. Over and above these, there were in the new borough forty burghesses in the domain of king William. After the Norman times, it valiantly stood-out the siege laid to it by the barons, during the troubles and slaughters with which they then embroil'd and infested the whole kingdom. Who being maliciously bent against king John for private and particular ends, did yet so cloak them with pretences of religion and the publick good, that they term'd themselves, the army of God and of holy church; at which time, they say, that military work was made, call'd Huns-hill. But it held not out, with like success, against Henry III. their lawful king, as it did against those rebels. For when the barons,

now inur'd to sedition, begun a rebellion against him in this place, he made a breach in the wall, and soon won it by assault. After this, as also before, the kings now and then held their parliaments in this town, upon account of the convenience of it's situation, in the very heart of England: And in the year of Christ 1460, a lamentable battle was fought here; wherein, amidst those terrible seditions and distractions, after the slaughter of many of the nobility, Richard Nevill earl of Warwick took that most unfortunate prince king Henry VI. then a second time made prisoner, and a very lamentable spectacle. About the latter end of Henry III. it was made choice of by some scholars of the university of Cambridge, for a retirement, occasion'd by the quarrels that were then on foot. Here, they met with many Oxford-men, who had come away upon the like occasion; and so, for a while (with the king's leave prosecuted their studies together with them: By which means, it had the face of an university. It is possible, that the place in this town which was call'd the College, was a remain of their presence here. But after three years continuance (as appears by the king's letters) it was dissolv'd, and express orders given, that for the future no one should study there, as in an university; because (as the said letters intimate) it was a manifest damage and inconvenience to the ancient university of Oxford. To conclude, the longitude of Northampton (as our mathematicians make it) is 22 degr. 29 min. and the latitude 52 degr. 13 min.

About a mile south of Northampton, is a military work call'd Hunsborrow, the area of which is about an acre of ground, and the figure not quite circular, but rather oval. It is thought to have been a summer-camp of the Danes, by which they might awe the adjoining country, and from whence they might sally out for forage and plunder.

From Northampton, the Nen hastens to the two Billings; in the greater of which is a very delightful grove, with a pleasant seat of the O'Briens earls of Thomond in Ireland; and then by Castle-Ashby, where Henry lord Compton built a very fine house; whose descendants, being advanced to the honour of earls of Northampton, have still their principal residence at this place; and have particularly improv'd it by a noble chase. Near which, is Yardley Hastings, so firman'd of the Hastings once earls of Pembroke, to whom it belong'd; and at a little distance from the river, Easton Manduit, the seat of the lord viscount Longuevil, and now earl of Suffex. Next, the Nen goes to Willingborough, a market-town, called anciently Wedlinborough. Here, a

rivulet from the east runs into it, coming down by Harrington, a feat of the lord Disert; and by Rushton; and Newton, belonging heretofore to the Treshans, but since the feat of the lord Cullen; then by Geddington, where was a castle of the king's; and here yet remains a cross erected in honour of queen Eleanor, king Edward I's consort; and by Boughton, belonging to the knightly family of the Montagues, advanced, by king James I. to the title of lords Montague of Boughton; by king William and queen Mary, to the dignity of viscount Monthermer and earl of Montague; and by queen Anne, to that of duke of Montague; in the person of Ralph, not long since deceased, which honours, together with his estate, are enjoy'd at present by John, his only surviving son. Here is a very magnificent hall, out of which is a prospect of a spacious and beautiful garden; wherein are several fountains, with a canal more than half a mile in length, and a curious cascade below a gloomy wilderness. Within the same lines of Boughton, is a spring which incrustateth wood, or any thing that falls into it, with a stony substance. There was preserved in Sidney-college in Cambridge, a skull brought from thence, all-over stoned both within and without; which was sent-for by king Charles I. but was returned to the college.

Then the river runs by Kettering, a well-traded market-town; wherein, at this time, no less than one thousand eight hundred hands are said to be employ'd in the manufacture of serges and shalloons: Near which stands Rouwell, a noted horse-fair; and at some distance, Naeby, eminent of late years for the bloody battle fought there in the year 1645. between his majesty king Charles I. and the parliament-army. There are now no signs of a fight remaining, except some few holes, which were the burying-places of the dead men and horses. This town is said by some to stand upon the highest ground in England. Next, by Burton, the barony likewise (if I mistake not the place) of Alan de Dinant, (for king Henry I. gave him a barony of that name in this county, for killing the French king's champion in single combat, at Gizors;) and by Harrouden, the lord whereof Nicholas Vaux, governor of Guines in Picardy, was created a baron by king Henry VIII.

Hence the Avon or Nen keeps its course to Higham, a town formerly belonging to the Ferrers, from whom it took the name of Higham-Ferrers; who had also their castle here, the ruins whereof are yet to be seen near the church. But the chief ornament of this place was Henry Chicheley archbishop of Canterbury, who founded here a beau-

beautiful college for secular clerks, and prebendaries; as likewise an  
 hospital for the poor. Thence it runs by Addington, anciently be-  
 longing to the Veres; and by Thorpston commonly call'd Thrapsten:  
 and its opposite Drayton, the seat, in the last age save one, of H.  
 Green, but afterwards, by his daughter, of John and Edward Stafford  
 earls of Wiltshire; and after that, of the Lord Mordaunt; to whom  
 it descended hereditarily from the Greens, gentlemen of great reputa-  
 tion in this county. Thence, it runs almost round a pretty little town,  
 which takes its name from it; Oundle they call it, corruptly for A-  
 rundle, where nothing is to be seen besides a neat church, a free-  
 school for the education of youth, and an alms-house founded by Sir  
 William Laxton sometime lord mayor of London. In the neighbour-  
 hood of this, stands Barnwell, a little castle, repair'd and adorn'd  
 with new buildings by the worthy Sir Edward Montacute knight, of  
 the ancient family of the Montacutes, as appears by his coat of arms.  
 It formerly belong'd to Berengarius le Moigne, that is, monk, and not,  
 as some think, to that Berengarius of Tours, whose opinion concern-  
 ing the Eucharist was formerly condemn'd in a synod held by the bi-  
 shop of Rome. After this, it salutes Fotheringhay-castle, environ'd  
 on every side with very pleasant meadows, which in Henry III's time  
 (when the strong-holds encouraged the nobility to revolt) was sur-  
 prised by William earl of Albemarle, who laid waste all the country  
 round as Matthew Paris informs us. At which time, it seems to  
 have belong'd to the earls of Huntingdon. A good while after, King  
 Edward III. assign'd it as it were for an inheritance or apennage (as  
 they call it) to his son Edmund of Langley duke of York, who rebuilt  
 the castle, and made the highest fortification or keep thereof, in form  
 of a horse-shoe, which was the device of the family of York. His  
 son Edward, duke of York, in the second year of Henry V. 1415. (as appears  
 by an inscription in barbarous verse,) founded here a very fine colle-  
 giate church, wherein himself, who was slain at the battle of Agin-  
 court, as also Richard duke of York his brother's son, who lost his  
 life at Wakefield, and his wife Cicely Nevil, had all magnificent me-  
 numents; which were thrown down and ruin'd, together with the  
 upper part or chancel of the church. But queen Elizabeth command-  
 ed two monuments to be set up in the memory of them, in the lower  
 end of the church now standing; which nevertheless (such as the  
 narrowness who had the charge of the work) are look'd upon as very  
 mean, for such great princes, descended from kings, and from whom  
 the kings of England are descended. The said Cicely saw too plainly,

in the compass of a few years, what pastime envious and unconstant fortune (if I may so say) makes her self, with the miseries of the mighty. For she saw her husband Richard (even then when he thought himself sure of the kingdom,) and her son the earl of Rutland, slain together in a bloody battle; and some few years after, she saw her eldest son Edward IV. advanced to the crown, and taken away by an untimely death; having before made away his brother, George duke of Clarence. After this, she saw her other son Richard forcing his way to the crown, by the lamentable murder of his nephews, and slaying of her, his own mother (for he charg'd her openly with incontinency;) then, she saw him possess'd of the kingdom, and soon after slain in battle. These her miseries was so chain'd together also, that every day of her life was more doleful than other. As for that, which in this place befel another mighty princess, Mary queen of Scots, I had much rather it should be buried in oblivion, than remembr'd. Let it be for ever forgotten, if possible; if not, let it however be wrapped up in silence. Under the best of princes, some there will be who being once arm'd with authority, know how to set a fair face of conscience and religion upon their own private designs: And some again, who sincerely and heartily consult the good of religion, and their prince's security, and (which is the highest law) the publick safety. Neither can it be deny'd, but that even the best princes are sometimes violently hurried away, as good pilots, with tempests, whither they would not. But what they do as crown'd heads, we must leave to God, who only hath power over kings.

The Avon, or Nen, touching upon the edge of Huntingdonshire, and running under a beautiful bridge at Walmesford, passes by Durobrivæ, a very ancient city, call'd in Saxon Dormancester, as I said before; which took up a great deal of ground on each side the river in both counties. For the little village Caster, which stands a mile from the river, seems to have been part of it, by the inlaid chequer'd pavements found there; though we read this more modern inscription upon their church-wall:

XV. KL. MAII DEDICATIO HVIVS ECCLESIAE MCXXIV.

*The fifteenth of the kalends of May, one thousand one hundred twenty four, was the dedication of this church.*

And doubtless it was a place of more note than ordinary note for in the adjoining fields (which, instead of Dormanton, they call Norman-ton-fields,) such quantities of Roman coins are thrown-up, that one would think they had been sown there: And two high-ways, the causeys whereof are still to be seen, went from hence; the one call'd Forty-foot-way, from its being forty foot broad, to Stanford: The other, Long-ditch, and High-street, by Lollham-bridges (bridges certainly of great antiquity, whereof eleven arches are still to be seen, tho' ruinous with age) through West-deping into Lincolnshire. In the fields of Castor, is a way, which among the common people goes by the name of my lady Conyburrow's way, corruptly for Kyneburga's way, who (as we have observ'd before) was wife to Alfred, king of the Northumbrians, and presided here in her own nunnery. It seems to have begun about Water-Newton on the other side of the river, and (if we may judge of the whole by a part) to have been paved with a sort of cubical bricks or tiles.

Between Forty-foot-way, and Long-ditch, near the parting, stands Upson, upon a rising-ground, whence it took the name; where Sir Robert Wingfield, knight, descended from the ancient and famous family of the Wingfields, which has produc'd abundance of renown'd knights, had a very fine house, with most pleasant walks; which, being transferr'd to Thomas Dove, bishop of Peterborough, did thereupon become the seat of his name and family. From Durobrivæ or Doremanchester, the river Avon, or Nen, passes-on to Peterborough, a little city seated in the corner of this county, where writers tell us there was a gulph in the river, of a prodigious depth, call'd Medeswell, and a town hard by it, nam'd thence Medes-well-hamsted, and Medes-hamsted. This (as Robert de Swapham informs us) was built in a very convenient place, having on one side a mere and excellent waters; on the other, many woods, meadows, and pastures, every way beautiful to the eye; and accessible by land on the east-side only. In the south-side of the burrough, runs the river Nen. In the middle of this river, there is a place like a whirlpool, so deep and cold, that in summer no swimmer can go to the bottom, and yet is never frozen in the winter. For there is a spring continually bubling-up with water. The place was in ancient times call'd Medes-well; till Osopher king of the Mercians, did there dedicate a monastery to St. Peter. And because the place was moorish, he laid the foundation (as the same Robert affirms) with stones of a vast bigness, such as eight yoke of oxen could hardly draw one of them; which I my self saw, when

when the monastery was destroyed. Afterwards, it began to be call'd Peterborow, and Burgh, and was a very famous monastery. I cannot but think it worth while to give you an account of its original and first building, abridged for the most part out of this Robert de Swarham, a writer of good antiquity. Peada, the son of Penda, the heathen Christian king of the Mercians, did, in the year of our Lord 657, for the propagation of the Christian religion, lay the foundation of a monastery at Medes-hamsted, in the country of the Gyrvians; which he liv'd not to finish, being made away by the wicked contrivance of his wife. To Peada, succeeded his brother Wolpher, a bitter enemy to the Christian religion; who thereupon most inhumanly murder'd his own sons, Wolphald and Rufin, for their having embrac'd it. But he himself, some few years after, turn'd Christian; and, to expiate his former impieties by some good work, he carry'd on the monastery which his brother had begun; and, with the help of his brother Ethelred and his sisters Kineburg and Kinelwith, finish'd it in the year 673, and dedicated it to St. Peter (whence it came to be call'd Peterborow) endowing it with large revenues, and making Sexwulph (a man of great piety, who principally advis'd him to this work,) first abbot thereof. This monastery flourish'd from thenceforth, with the reputation of great sanctity, for about two hundred and fourteen years: till the dreadful times came, when the Danes waited all before them. They were the monks massacred, and the monastery quite destroy'd; which lay bury'd in its ruins for a hundred and nine years. In which time also, when the Danes had burnt the monastery of Croyland, the monks and monks thereof fled hither for protection, and being overtaken were cruelly murder'd in a back-court of this monastery call'd then upon the Monks-Church-yard. In memory whereof, a tomb-stone with the portraiture of the abbot and his monks, was set over the common grave, which is to be seen here at this day. At last, about the year 960, Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, a person wholly bent upon the establishment of monkery, began to rebuild the monastery having the helping-hand of king Edgar, and of Adulph the king's chancellor, who, by way of atonement for his own and his wife's having over-laid a little infant their only son, spent his whole estate in re-edifying this monastery, and, bidding adieu to the world, became the first abbot after its restoration. From that time, it grew exceedingly in revenues and privileges; only, in the reign of William the Norman, Heward an English out-law made an excursion from the north of Ely, and plunder'd it; against whom, abbot Turolf erected

fort call'd Mont Turolde. Yet was it still accounted very rich, till within the memory of our fathers; when King Henry VIII thrust out the monks every-where (upon pretence that they were degenerated from the strictness of those holy men, the ancient monks, and had riotously wasted the goods of the church which were the patrimony of the poor:) and erected a bishoprick here, assigning this county and Rutlandshire for its diocese; together with a deanery, and prebends. So that, of a monastery it became a cathedral church, the structure whereof is exceeding beautiful, and the more so, for its great antiquity: Its front is noble and majestic, and its coffer large; in the glass windows whereof, is represented the history of Wolpher the founder, with the succession of the abbots. St. Mary's Chapel is a large building, and full of curious workmanship: And the choir is very beautiful; wherein two queens, as unfortunate as any two could be, Catharine of Spain, and Mary queen of Scots, lye interred; finding rest here from their labour, sorrow and miseries. This place hath afforded the title of earl, to John lord Mordant, created Mar. 9. 3. Car. 1; who, in the year 1643, was succeeded in that honour by Henry lord Mordant his son; and he dying without issue-male, this honour descended to Charles the present earl, son of John lord Mordant of Rygate and viscount Avelon, who was second son to John, the first earl of this family.

Beneath Peterborrow, the Nen, by this time remov'd some five and forty miles from its head, and carrying along with it all the little rivers and land-floods; divides itself into several branches. And, finding no certain course, spreads its waters all over the plains, and overflows them far and near in the winter, nay, and some times for the greater part of the year; so that it seems to be a vast level-ocean, with here and there an island appearing above the surface of the waters. The cause of which, the neighbouring people affirm to be this; that of three chanel, in which such a vast deal of waters did use to be conveyed, the first, which went to the ocean by Thorney-Abbey, and thence asunder by Clowereys and Crow-land; and the second, which went by the cut made by Morton bishop of Ely, call'd the New Leame; and then by Wisbich; have a long time been neglected: And, that the third, which runs by Horley-bridge, Wirtles-mere, Hamley-mere, and alters-load, is not able to receive so much water; so that it breaks out more plentifully into the adjoining flats. And the country complains of the injury done them, as well by those who have neglected to keep open and clear the chanel, as by others who have diverted the water

to their private uses: And, with the Reatines in Tacitus, they say, "that nature hath provided excellently for the convenience of mankind, in giving all rivers their mouths and their courses; and their endings, as well as their springs." But of this enough, if not too much.

In this place, the county is narrowest; for between the Nen and the river Welland (one of the boundaries on the north-side,) it is scarce five miles over. Upon the Welland (which Etheiwe d an ancient writer calls Weolod, the Saxon annals Weolud, and Florence of Worcester Weolund; and for the making of which navigable an act passed in the thirteenth year of queen Elizabeth,) stands, near its spring, Sibbertoste, which manour Nicholas de Archer, in the time of Edward I. held by the service of carrying the king's bow, thro' all the forests in England; and Bra booke-Castle, built by Robert May, alias de Braibroke, a great favourite of king John; whose son Henry having married Christiana Ledet, heiress to a great estate, his eldest son took the surname of Ledet. From one of whose grand-daughters by his son (as I said before) it came to the Latimers, and from them to the Giffins, who now enjoy it, but have remov'd their seat to Dingley; where have been found an ancient bead, and a coin of Cunobeline. Hard by Braibroke, among the woods, I saw some few remains of a monastery, call'd anciently De Divisis, now Pipwell, founded by William Luttrell for Cistercian monks, in the reign of Henry II. From thence, we have a sight of Rockingham, a castle formerly belonging to the earls of Albemarle, and built by William the conqueror; at which time it was a waste, as we find in Domesday-book. It was fortified by him with rampires, bulwarks, and a double range of battlements, and is seated upon an hill in a woody forest, named from thence Rockingham-Forest. From this place, which is the seat of the Watsons, Sir Lewis Watson was, in the reign of King Charles I. created a baron of this realm, by the title of Lord Rockingham of Rockingham-Castle. In whose posterity this estate doth still remain; and the present possessor hath been advanced to the more honourable title of earl of Rockingham. Not far from whence, is Laxton, wherein were lands held by the service of hunting in all the king's forests and parks throughout Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Huntingdonshire, and this county, to destroy the vermin in each; as the manour of Hightesley, was also held upon condition to find dogs for the destruction of wolves, foxes, &c. Next, the Welland runs by Heringworth, the seat, formerly of the Candlows, and afterwards of the lords Zouch, who deriv'd their

original from Eudo a younger son of Alan de la Zouch of Ashby, and grew up to an honourable family of barons; being much enobled by matches with one of the heirs of Cantlow, and also with another of baron Seymour; who likewise deriv'd his pedigree from the heir of the lord Zouch of Ashby, and from the Lovels lords of Castle-Cary in Somersetshire. It has been since sold to a gentleman who has a fair seat at Bullick hard by. Only, where the great house formerly stood, there was a chappel in which the family of the Zouches were bury'd; and that, with the monuments therein, was reserv'd for the said family.

Here also in this forest, I saw Kirby, the seat of the Hattons, from which, Sir Christopher Hatton, in the reign of king Charles I was created a baron, by the title of lord Hatton of Kirby; whose son of the same name was advanced by king Charles II. to the more honourable title of viscount Hatton; which honour William his son and heir at present enjoys: And Dean, belonging anciently to the Deane, and afterwards to the Tindals; which deserves to be mention'd, if it were only for being at present a beautiful seat of the Brudenels: of which family, Sir Edmund Brudenel knight, was a great lover and admirer of antiquities. In the reign of king Charles I. they were advanced to the dignity of barons; and, in that of king Charles II. to the more honourable title of earls of Cardigan. The family likewise of Engain, which was both ancient and honourable, had their seat hard by at Blache-wic (where lately lived the family of Staffords knights, descended from Ralph the first earl of Stafford,) and converted their castle, named Hymel, into a monastery call'd Finisheved. Their line male fail'd three hundred years ago; but of the daughters, the eldest was married to Sir John Goldington, the second to Sir Lawrence Pabenham, and the third to Sir William Bernack, knights of great worth and honour. Here also we see Apthorp, formerly the seat of that worthy knight Sir Anthony Mildemay, whose father Walter Mildemay, privy councillor to queen Elizabeth, for his virtue, wisdom, piety, and favour to learning and learned men (shown by his founding Emanuel-College in Cambridge) hath deserv'd to be register'd among the best men of his age. This, by marriage became since the possession of the earl of Westmorland. In the neighbourhood, stands Thornhaugh belonging formerly to the family of Semarc, and afterwards to the honourable William Russel son of Francis earl of Bedford, descended of the same family of Semarc; whom king James I. for his virtues, and his faithful services in Ireland while he was lord deputy there, advanced to

the dignity of baron Ruffel of Thornhaugh; and whose descendants are since advanced to the more honourable titles of marquiss of Tavistock and duke of Bedford. Neither is the little town of Wellendon to be pass'd by, considering that anciently it was accounted a barony; which by Maud daughter and heir of Geoffrey de Ridel (who was drown'd with king Henry 1st's son.) descended to Richard Pelet son of Ralph Ballet chief justice of England; in whose race it continued till Henry IVth's time, when (the issue-male failing) it came by females to the Knevetts and Alesburies.

From Heringworth, the Welland goes to Colliweston, where the lady Margaret, countess of Richmond, king Henry VIII's mother, built a splendid and beautiful house. Beneath Colliweston, the neighbouring inhabitants dig great store of slates, for building. From hence, Wittering-heath, a plain, runs out a long way to the east; upon which the inhabitants tell you the Danes receiv'd a memorable defeat. And now, Welland arrives at Burghley, a most beautiful seat, from which that most wise and honourable counsellor Sir William Cecil, lord high treasurer of England, the great support of this nation, receiv'd the title of baron Burghley, at the hands of queen Elizabeth. This house, the owner adorn'd with the lustre of his own virtues, and beautify'd with magnificent buildings; laying to it a large park for deer (such as Varro calls *parcus*;) encompass'd with a stone-wall of great circumference. Which noble pile of stone-building, rais'd (as we have said) about a hundred years since by William lord Burghley, has been greatly adorn'd by the late earl of Exeter; to which title the descendants of the said William were rais'd. For loftiness of rooms variety of pictures, terrasses, conduits, fishponds, fountains, &c. it may vie with the best seats in England. The painting and carving are so curious, that travellers have affirm'd, they have met with nothing either in Italy or France, that exceeds them. The park also is greatly improv'd, by planting a multitude of walks, of ash, elm, chesnut, and several other trees. At Wotherpe, a little distant from this, the earl of Exeter hath another handsome seat, with a little park wall'd about. It was built by Thomas Cecil the first earl of Exeter of this family; and though not very small (for, after the restoration, it was large enough to receive the then duke of Buckingham, and his family for some years) yet so mean did it seem in comparison of the former, that its founder pleasantly said, he built it only to retire-to out of the dust, while his great house of Burleigh was a sweeping.

Below Burleigh, at Berneck, lie the old stone-quarries, out of which the abbies of Peterborough and Ramsey were built. Here (to me the words of the history of Ramsey,) "the strength of the quarrying is often exercis'd, yet still there remains work, whereon to employ them; inasmuch as they rest and refresh the quarries, now and then, by succession." And we read in King Edward the Confessor's will, that, in consideration of four thousand eels in Lent, the monks of Ramsey shall have cut of the territory of St. Peter so much square stone as they need, at Berneck; and of rough stone for walls, a Bush. Above Berneck, that Roman way, which the neighbouring inhabitants call the Forty foot way, from its breadth, cuts the shire in two, from Caster to Stamford, and appears in a high causeway; especially by the little wood of Berneck, where it has a beacon upon the very ridge; and runs along through Burghley-Park, and on to Walcot.

Some few miles hence, the Welland runs by Maxey-Castle, formerly belonging to the barons of Wake; and by Peag-Kirke, (where, in the infancy of christianity in England, Pega, a holy woman who gave name to the place, and was sister of St. Guthlac, together with other devout virgins, did by their life and example give excellent documents of piety and chastity;) and then comes to the fens, so often mentioned. And, by reason the bank on the south-side thereof is neglected, the river overflows the adjacent lands (to the great damage of the proprietors;) and, having thus broken out of its channel, which went formerly by Spalding, it falls into the Nen, and extremely overcharges it.

The lesser Avon (which, as I said, is the other boundary of this shire northward, but continues such on y about five or six miles) breaking out near the spring of the Welland, runs westward by Stanford upon Avon, the seat of the family of Cave, out of which several branches of good note have grown up in the neighbouring tract; and also by Lilburne, the seat, formerly, of the Carvils. That this hath been anciently a Roman station, I am perswaded, by its situation upon one of their military ways, and by the ancient trenches there, and a little piked hill cast-up; which some dug of late days, in hopes of finding old hidden treasures; but instead of gold they met with coals. Which said marks of antiquity, together with the distances answering on both sides (*viz.* near twelve miles from Bennavenna, and nine from Vennones,) induced the late learned commentator upon Antoninus to fix the ancient Tripontium here (at Dowbridge,) rather than at Towcester.

cester; which he observes to be too much out of the course of the itinerary, and not to answer, in point of distance from the stations on each hand. And thus this little river, after it hath passed under Dowbridge, leaves Northamptonshire, and enters Warwickshire.

From the digging-up of the coals before mention'd, what if I should guess, that this hill was thrown-up for a mark or boundary? Since Silius Flaccus tells us, that either ashes, or coals, or potsherds, or broken glasses, or bones half-burnt, or lime, or plaister, were wont to be put under such bounds or limits; and St. Augustine writes of coals, *Is it not a wonderful thing, that tho' coals are so brittle, that with the least blow they break, with the least pressure they are crushed in pieces, yet no time can destroy them; insomuch, that they who pitch landmarks are wont to throw them underneath, to convince any latigious person, who shall affirm, though ever so long after, that no land-mark was there.* And so much the rather am I inclin'd to this opinion, because they who have written of limits or bounds, inform us, that certain hillocks which they termed Borontines, were placed in limits. So that I suppose most of these mounts and round hillocks, which are so commonly seen, were rais'd for this purpose; and that ashes, coals, potsherds &c. might be found under them, by digging deep into the ground.

The first earl that this county had, at least that I know of, was Waldeof, son of the warlike Siward; who was also earl of Huntingdon, and lost his head, for treason against William the conqueror leaving only two daughters, which he had by Judith, the conqueror's niece by a sister on the mother's side. Simon Sinlis, being scornfully rejected by Judith the mother, on account of his being lame, married Maud the eldest daughter, and built St. Andrew's church, and the castle of Northampton. To him, succeeded his son Simon the second who was a long time at law about his mother's estate with David king of Scots, her second husband: And, having sided with king Stephen dy'd in the year of our Lord 1152, with this elegy, a youth addicted to every thing that was unlawful, every thing that was unseemly. His son Simon the third, going on with the suit against the Scots for his right to the earldom of Huntingdon, wasted his estate but, through the favour of king Henry II. marry'd the daughter and heir of Gilbert de Gant earl of Lincoln; and having at last recovered the earldom of Huntingdon, and disseis'd the Scots, he died without issue in the year 1185. Many years after, Edward III. created William de Bohun (a person of approved valour) earl of Northampton. And when his elder brother Humfrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and

Essex, and constable of England, was not able in that warlike age to support the character of constable, he made William, constable of England. His son Humfrey succeeding in the earldom of Northampton, as also in the earldoms of Hereford and Essex (upon his uncle's dying without issue) had two daughters: one marry'd to Thomas of Woodstock, youngest son of king Edward III. the other to Henry of Lancaster, after duke of Hereford, and afterwards king of England. The daughter of Thomas of Woodstock brought her grandfather's title of Northampton, together with others, into the family of the Staffords by marriage. But when they were depriv'd of their honours, king Edward VI. advanced William Parr earl of Essex, a most accomplish'd courtier, to the title of marquiss of Northampton; who, within our memory, dy'd without issue. And king James I. in the year of our Lord 1603, at one and the same time advanced Henry Howard brother of the duke of Norfolk (a person of great wit and eloquence, a complete master of the most useful arts and sciences, exceeding prudent, and no less profound,) to the degree and stile of baron Howard of Marnehill, and to the honour of earl of Northampton. Which Henry having never marry'd, and dying 15. June 1614: this honour, in the year 1618, was conferr'd upon William lord Compton, lord president of Wales, who was succeeded first by Spencer his son and heir, then by James his grandchild, son and heir to the said Spencer, and father of George, the present earl.

There belong to this shire 326 parishes.

### More rare PLANTS growing wild in Northamptonshire.

*Eryngium vulgare* J. B. *vulgare* & *Camerarii* C. B. *mediterraneum* Ger. *mediterraneum seu campestre* Park. Common eryngo. This was sent by Mr. Thornton, who observed it not far from Deventry, beside the old Roman way call'd Watlingstreet, near a village named Brookhall.

*Gentiana concava* Ger. *Saponaria concava anglica* C. B. *folio convulso* J. *Anglica folio convulso* Park. Hollow-leaved Gentian, or rather Saponaria. This was first found by Gerard in a small grove of a wood call'd Spinney, near Lichbarrow.

*Gnaphalium montanum* sive *Pes cati* Park. Mountain-Cudweed  
Catsfoot. On Bernake-heath, not far from Stamford.

*Pulsatilla Anglica purpurea* Park. *parad. flore clausa cæruleo* 7. B. C.  
mon pasque-flower. On the same heath in great plenty. See the syn-  
nymes in Cambridgeshire.

*Millefolium palustre flore luteo galericulato*. Hooded water-milfoil.  
the ditches by the river-side as you go from Peterborough to Thorp.

*The End of the Second VOLUME.*

